Journal of Administration Overseas

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by Marie Reay

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a Rejoinder
by John Sargent

Some Human Aspects of Manpower Planning in Developing Countries
by Hugh H. Thomson

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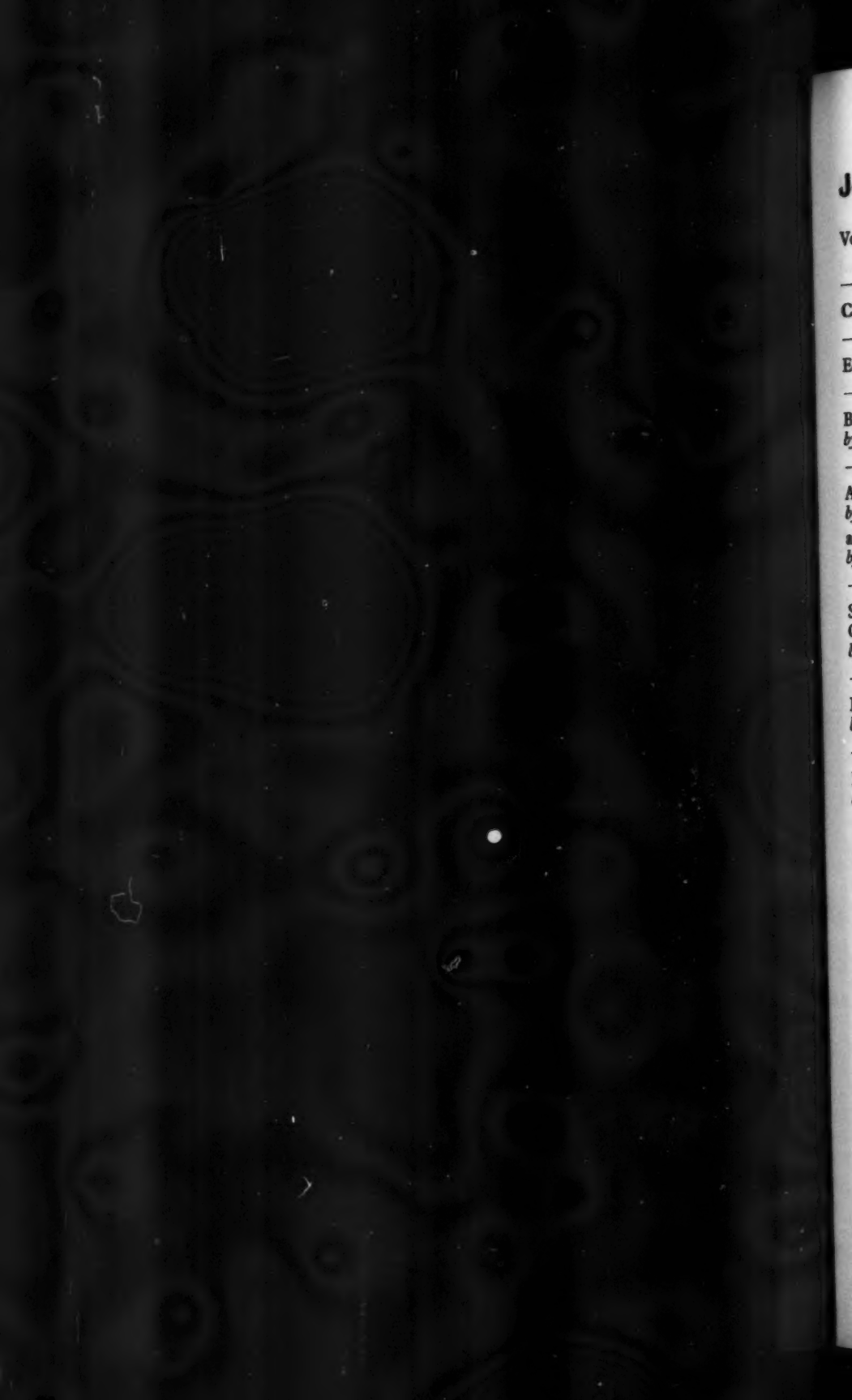

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Editor's Notes

IN THIS number our contributors examine the emergence of a strong political figure in New Guinea; staff structure procedures; manpower problems in developing countries; demographic statistics; and land use in Fiji.

Dr. Marie Reay sketches the successful career of a self-taught West Highlander of New Guinea who has become an excellent constituency M.P. and whose lack of formal education does not seem to have caused him any serious handicap. Now a powerful political figure and a Minister, what is perhaps remarkable about Tei Abal is that he has maintained his popular appeal despite his advocacy of economic before constitutional development and his opposition to early independence. Political acumen and an ability to assess others shrewdly enabled him to achieve re-election to the House of Assembly unopposed – this does not mean that he will be unopposed next time, nor perhaps does it really mean that "Wabag open" is stretched "beyond democracy". Tei Abal's role will be watched with considerable interest as Papua New Guinea progress further along the constitutional path towards "Uhuru".

The establishment of a satisfactory staff structure is of even greater importance to developing countries, where skilled personnel are usually in short supply, than in the industrialized societies where they may be plentiful. N. S. Carey Jones looks provocatively at accepted ideas on job grading and suggests men, not their jobs, need the grading. He looks askance at long scales that entrench the dead woodsmen; horizontal rather than vertical segments to staff structures are recommended, job analysis, he believes, provides only an illusion of exactness. John Sargent provides a short rejoinder. Personnel, he maintains, need security – this long scales provide; one is ill-advised to build or change an organization's structure round promising personalities. Job descriptions are an aid to recruitment; "the bluest eyes are best" is no criterion for promotion, modern management favours job evaluation as the method least likely to evoke charges of unfairness and the possible industrial unrest this could create.

The right course to be adopted can be assessed by readers in the light of Hugh Thomson's study of manpower planning – prepared in general terms but based on a considerable Zambian background. It is not identification of manpower needs that is most important, he suggests, but the outputs capable of matching the more identifiable needs. The real problem area, he says, lies in the allocation of available and scarce human resources to meet extensive needs. On the Copperbelt in 1968 there were 1,250 science graduates, three of them Zambian: the direction of all local science graduates into this sector would have had no more than a very marginal effect. He regards manpower appraisal as a prerequisite to national development planning but emphasises that adaptability and flexibility are essential in developing countries if policy makers are not to be confounded by the unpredictable results of the many inevitable pressures which they will encounter.

We welcome the opportunity to publish David Lucas' short guide to demography which he provides for the administrator; and, finally, the critical appraisal of land use planning by M. E. Adams who, because he sees such planning as being based primarily on physical and economic criteria, considers it more relevant to developed countries than to those with less developed economics where account has to be taken of the farmer within his social context; unless human as well as physical resource factors receive due consideration the best plans for land usage will go awry – with this view few thoughtful readers will nowadays dissent.

Beyond Democracy:
Avoiding the Gamble of the Ballot Box in an Emergent Nation (New Guinea)[1]

By MARIE REAY

Dr. Reay is a Senior Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

In 1968 one indigenous candidate and one expatriate were returned unopposed to the House of Assembly in Papua and New Guinea. The indigenous Member was Tei Abal, now Ministerial Member for Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries, and president of the United (formerly Compass) Party. From 1964 he represented Wabag Open, one of the most backward electorates in the Territory. Only half the members who stood for re-election in 1968 were successful, but these included all the indigenous M.H.A.s from the Western Highlands. With Tei as their leader they decided, halfway through their first term, to pool ideas on how to ensure re-election, but Tei alone demonstrated that the possibility they had discussed of avoiding the gamble of the ballot box was practical and feasible.

The M.H.A., born about 1933, did not have any formal education, for there were no schools in the Lagaip area at that time. His mother had died when he was an infant, and he grew up from the age of three in the knowledge that his father had been the victim of a "pay-back" killing, so it was appropriate for him to turn to non-traditional avenues of expression. At thirteen he worked as cook-boy for a government interpreter; this gave him the opportunity, which he had lacked at home, to learn to speak Pidgin. Soon afterwards he went to the aid-post at Wabag to train as a medical orderly and was still there when it became a hospital. There he taught himself to read and write Pidgin and by 1963 had learned a little English. He was now the senior medical orderly in Wabag hospital. The particular organisational experience he gained there, in charge of work schedules for about thirty others, helped to shape his procedures of working within and between institutional frameworks when he was elected to the House of Assembly against three other candidates in 1964.

Tei was prominent, for a Highlander, in the first House of Assembly. He was appointed Under-Secretary for Labour. He attended a meeting of the United Nations Trusteeship Council in New York in 1966, and in the following year was a member of a parliamentary delegation to Malaysia to look at land settlement schemes in operation there. Strongly supporting and learning all he could from the Administration, he had been the most out-

[1]See also Profiles: Tei Abal, *Australian External Territories*, vol. 8, No. 6, December 1968; Colebatch *et. al.*, Free Elections in a Guided Democracy, *The Politics of Dependence*, ed. A. L. Epstein, R. S. Parker, and Marie Reay. Canberra: A.N.U. Press, 1971.

spoken of the indigenous Western Highland opponents of early self-government and independence in speeches to the House and statements to the Press. As a member of the first Select Committee on Constitutional Development, his expressed views seemed to many of his supporters in the government to carry extra weight. These saw him as spokesman for "the total Enga-speaking people," who comprise about half the massive population of the Western Highlands; and indeed in the entire region there was no popular dissent from the official view (which Tei espoused) that economic development was more important than political autonomy and that any effort to hasten political independence should be resisted. He received numerous letters of support from Wabag people labouring on the coast and studying at schools and colleges throughout the Territory. To several of Tei's acquaintances among expatriate administrative officers connected with the House of Assembly or stationed in the Western Highlands, it seemed reasonable to view the Member for Wabag as a likely Prime Minister in a future self-governing Territory. Not only did he represent a large electorate in the most populous part of Papua and New Guinea, but he had links of language and personal kinship that transcended electoral boundaries and could effectively extend his popular base. Many of the candidates for the Western Highlands Regional electorate in 1968 thought that whoever had the support of Tei Abal had a good chance of winning.

"The reason Mr. Tei Abal, M.H.A. stood unopposed in the Wabag Open electorate was due to his tremendous popularity amongst the people of his electorate, Native and European and of all religious creeds". So ran the preamble to a statement by the Returning Officer for Wabag[2]. Tei's widespread popularity, however, was an outcome of successful statesmanship, and it is no disparagement to say that the real reason lay in his own determination to be re-elected and an efficient use of leadership skills in a myriad contexts to deflect the political ambitions of potential rivals. He was generous with his friendship: expatriates who talked with him in the club, influential medical orderlies who had helped his election in 1964, local government councillors, and a variety of educated and uneducated men of all ages, were proud to lay claim to it. A number of men with diverse backgrounds – a traditional leader, a councillor, an Administration interpreter, a church leader, a medical orderly, a mechanic, and possibly others – wanted to enter parliament but decided not to stand against Tei. Iambakey Okuk, the Wabag mechanic, had wanted to represent an Open electorate but would not stand against his friend in Wabag and, finding he was not residentially qualified to contest Lagaip, was nominated for the Western Highlands Regional electorate with Tei's encouragement. Pastor Leo Katupini, president of Wabag Lutheran Church, was nominated for Lagaip Open. Tei diverted the ambitions of some others by discussing an idea, which he did not pursue when elected, of seeking official consent to electing a second man as an intermediary between the overworked M.H.A., busy in the affairs of the Territory, and his constituents at home. The absence of counter-nominations was only partly attributable to his winning the friendship of potential rivals. In addition, he made certain that the major opinion leaders in Wabag – persons prominent in the

[2]D. Hook, *Times Courier*, 28th March, 1968.

Administration, the mission, and the local government council – were united in seeing his re-election as serving the interests they held in common.

In mid-1966, while most of the M.H.A.s in the Western Highlands were treating re-election as a "worry" to be faced in the future, Tei returned from his visit to New York and reported directly to the electorate on United Nations criticisms of the Australian Administration and how he had answered them. He addressed the Wabag Council and Lutheran church groups, talked widely with expatriates and indigenous people around Wabag, and made an arduous solitary patrol lasting nearly three weeks into the rugged and isolated Maramuni, an area of Catholic influence. His efforts were rewarded when an unofficial meeting of councillors resolved that Tei alone would be the M.H.A. for Wabag "until he dies" and a deputation of Maramuni leaders marched into Wabag with the message that they declined to vote for anyone but Tei in the forthcoming election. For the rest of his term he kept up a strenuous programme of holding meetings of educated and uneducated constituents before and after each sitting of the House to obtain their views and report back. He continued to travel throughout the electorate to communicate personally with his constituents. He worked hard at being and appearing to be a true representative.

Tei negotiated successfully with the Public Health Department to keep open and continue to develop the government hospital at Wabag instead of concentrating on the already well equipped Seventh Day Adventist hospital on the road towards Laiagam. He argued effectively that patients who were Lutheran or Catholic or non-Christian experienced hardship when required to conform with the unusual regulations imposed by this minority sect. He secured a government grant of $5,000 towards the cost of rebuilding the hospital, a work the local government council was interested in undertaking. He fought a decision of the Department of Civil Aviation to close Wabag airstrip to DC3 aircraft, successfully delayed its threatened closure, and induced the government to upgrade the Wapenamanda airstrip and build a new road to connect Wapenamanda with Wabag. The Wabag Lutheran Newsletter (*Nius Bilong Sios Na Ples*) of 1st November, 1967 thanked Tei in Pidgin for his recent efforts in Port Moresby on behalf of his electorate. By March, 1968 a new hospital of permanent materials was more than half completed, Wabag airstrip was to stay open to DC3 aircraft till early the following year, Wapenamanda airstrip had been extended, and the road linking the two centres was being re-surveyed.

The Wabag Lutheran Newsletter of 20th February, 1968 hailed Tei's win as a demonstration of his popularity and constituents' appreciation of his labours on their behalf. It pointed out in Pidgin that he was "one of our good Christians. He is a member of our Wabag congregation. He comes to church with his wife and children every Sunday. One of his sons is a pupil at St. Paul's High School at Pausa, another son and a daughter are at school at Irelya, and there are two more children at home. God himself has given us a good workman and we are thankful".

The eulogies of Tei's expatriate supporters and references to his "tremendous popularity" tend to obscure the matter-of-fact quality of his

leadership. His acceptability to all whose opinions mattered in a scattered and backward electorate, which he informed and consulted as opportunity allowed, stemmed directly from his acting out the qualities of the ideal politician. He had warned various colleagues playfully that they might discover paternalism, pomposity, and conspicuous affluence to be electoral liabilities of the same order as pastoral neglect. His own manner was unassuming. He bought a tea block near Mt. Hagen, well outside his electorate, and drove a light truck as other Enga businessmen did, but his neat home in Wabag township was indistinguishable from those of other peri-urban dwellers. He identified himself with the general policies of the Administration, but people of all degrees of sophistication found him approachable and willing to listen sympathetically to their problems. He deferred to his constituents. Addressing Wabag councillors, he acknowledged the importance of the work they were doing and described his own work as the tough but necessary task of being their "*boi*" (servant) in Port Moresby, negotiating with the government on their behalf while they attended to local matters and developed the economy by improving their business. Whilst Territory politics was inextricably mixed with local government politics in many parts of the Western Highlands so that experience of holding office in a council was sometimes seen as a weighty qualification for candidature, Tei kept out of council politics and nurtured the idea (finally expressed spontaneously in a council resolution) of a permanent division of labour between council and M.H.A. Further, he devised new political roles which diverted incipient rivals from any present ambition to acquire his own. If he had not invited Iambakey to stand for the Regional seat, he might have had a formidable opponent before nominations closed. Two or three other educated men, who considered themselves well qualified to serve in parliament, were content to step aside when Tei expressed the idea that it might be possible to arrange a poll to elect a middleman and a rumour went about that an election for such an office would be held concurrently with the Regional election. Tei realised, at least by June, 1968, that any man so elected would be well placed to unseat him next time.

Despite Tei's absences from his electorate on parliamentary business, he saw to it that his work as M.H.A. brought him close to a wide range of people there. The group of medical orderlies who had helped him in 1964 still formed an influential sector of Wabag society, and he gave these men ample reason to continue their support for him. This time, however, there were people in his electorate "Native and European and of all religious creeds" who accepted him as their friend "Teita," an ordinary man of great energy and enthusiasm placed in an uncommon role which he filled to their satisfaction.

Over the period of the first House of Assembly, Tei Abal showed himself to be a dedicated and extremely able politician. Further, for nearly two years from mid-1966 he extended himself to be and to be seen to be an effective professional political leader. His second term has brought added responsibilities. It is a commonplace of parliamentary politics that the more power a person or a party acquires the less eager he or it will be to relinquish it. The Western Highlands Members of the first House of Assembly were

mostly entrenched as establishment figures early in their term, and they were all strongly committed to achieving re-election, in which they succeeded. The system of Ministerial Members has changed the position of two of them in their electorates. These are Tei Abal (Member for Wabag Open and Ministerial Member for Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries) and Kaibelt Diria (Member for Wahgi Open and Assistant Ministerial Member for Local Government). As Ministers they are accorded privileges which must give them an enormous electoral advantage over any rivals who may wish to unseat them in 1972. Earlier, both had seen the possibility of not getting back in the second election as a threat they had to ward off at all costs; they had responded to it by working hard and single-mindedly toward their objective, exhibiting relentlessly those qualities it seemed a politician should have including "a strong willpower and a rather thick skin"[3]. It is less certain how they will respond to a conviction that their power in their own electorates is already confirmed and their position there less open to challenge.

Instead of getting about their electorates in their own Toyotas, Tei and Kaibelt (as Ministerial and Assistant Ministerial Members) are able to make use of Administration vehicles for any local travel they wish to undertake. There is an obvious electoral advantage in their being able to contact any of their constituents who can be reached by four-wheel drive vehicle. Such a privilege, however, cannot fail to be visible to constituents who see no means of sharing it, including some who are likely to resent this inequality. There are several possible grounds for such resentment. One is the contrast between the Minister with a roadworthy vehicle and special driver at hand whenever he wants them and a local leader who may have parliamentary ambitions but is apt to be stranded if something goes wrong with his own truck or any illness or injury prevents him from driving it. Both Tei and Kaibelt are "outsiders" to many groups in their electorates compared with the leaders of these particular groups – the "groups" here being extensible from lineages or sub-subclans to huge phratry-tribes; such resentments are therefore likely to be shared by large numbers of people on behalf of *their* leaders. Another possible ground for resentment lies in the disposition of the people in both Wabag and Wahgi to see the expatriate Sub-district officials as being engaged in very important work for the indigenous people of the area, and the consequent grassroots respect for the administrative head of the Sub-district, the A.D.C. The directive to make Administration vehicles (always in short supply for routine administration) available whenever a Ministerial Member feels he needs them is bound to impose strains in the relationship between politician and official, and if these become visible to persons who will be voting in the next election they are likely to see the politician as a local upstart usurping the rights of the duly constituted official.

Tei and Kaibelt, along with most of the other Highland M.H.A.s, responded to the emergence of Pangu (the first viable political party in the Territory) during the latter stages of the first House of Assembly by preparing to involve themselves in a "governing party" comprising the majority of elected M.H.A.s. This party, chaired by Tei but somewhat hampered in its development during the early days of the second House by the struggles

[3]Jean Blondel, *Voters, Parties and Leaders* (revised ed. 1966), Penguin Books, p.13.

of several expatriate M.H.A.s for influence,[4] changed its name from Compass to the United Party in March, 1971. Kaibelt had toured his electorate in September, 1970, in company with an official who had formerly been A.D.C. there, to tell constituents about the newly formed party and rally popular support for it, thus giving Compass the grassroots base Pangu had lacked. The party's platform echoed Western Highlands concern with delaying political independence. Presumably the United Party's preselection procedures will give little chance for others to challenge the M.H.A.s in a one-party region, and certainly their concern with getting such a "governing party" organised was based largely on their desire to secure the entrenchment of the establishment of which they are a part and ensure their re-election in 1972.

It is conceivable that the "opposition" party, Pangu, could gain a foothold, in some parts of the Western Highlands, strong enough to present credible opponents to the sitting M.H.A.s in 1972. This seems unlikely, however, unless the party decides to play upon the resentments of many local notables at the power and privileges enjoyed by M.H.A.s, particularly Ministerial ones, and woo particular leaders to its support.

[4]John Watts made an announcement, which turned out to be premature, of the formation of Compass Party; Walter Lussick announced the formation of an Independent Group. This was a quasi-party composed of "Independent" M.H.A.s who, when the second House of Assembly was opened in 1968, did not belong to any formalised political party. The ambiguity of "Independents" – heard as "Independence," which these members unanimously opposed – delayed the formation of the "group" into an "Independents party," although all intended to form an organized political party as soon as a suitable name could be found. The name Pangu, standing for "Papua and New Guinea United," had already been adopted by a party with the radically different aim of early self-government. The name "Compass" was revived, but it means little or nothing to persons who do not speak English. Eventually, in April, 1971, the name United Party replaced Compass. Watts, Lussick, and Ron Neville appeared to seek acceptance as main expatriate adviser to the party, whereas many of the indigenous M.H.A.s involved in the "government" party looked more directly to Senior Administration officials for leadership than to expatriate M.H.A.s.

Administrative Staff Structures

By N. S. CAREY JONES

Mr. Carey Jones is a member of the Department of Social Studies at the University of Leeds.

THE work of an organization has to be divided out among the persons in the organization. Each is given some part of the task of the whole organization to do, including those managerial parts which are designed to achieve co-ordination between the other parts. Thus, out of the *whole task* of the organization certain specific tasks emerge. By the *whole task* is meant the objectives of the organization, what it is set up to do. If the objectives are not clear, it is difficult to allocate tasks properly. Unfortunately, in the public service departments, there are often many objectives, some not clear, some that are mutually contradictory, because governments adopt a variety of objectives that are the response to political pressures. Some of these objectives they may never intend to pursue very seriously. Out of all the objectives of a government, those that are seriously pursued may vary from time to time, or may vary according to the interests of a particular head of department or ministry. In other organizations the objectives tend to be more limited and clearer. In private enterprises, for example, there is always the final constraint of survival, which depends on profitability; but there are many objectives that may be pursued even in these organizations before there is any danger of insolvency or bankruptcy. In public enterprises, which are sub-systems of the state, survival does not depend, necessarily, on profitability, and objectives may become more confused. (Clearly, in setting up public enterprises, the more limited the objectives given to any one the more likely are they to be achieved. One should not therefore be afraid of the *number* of such enterprises. If too many objectives are grouped into one enterprise, it is possible for the head of the organization to make his selection from them; and he is likely to choose those that are easiest to carry out.)

When a new organization is set up to carry out certain objectives, it is usually well understood that it must be functionally organized to achieve them. (A head is appointed charged with total responsibility; he allocates parts of this to others; they to yet others, and so on; with most organizations, however, the persons concerned are already members). These will change from time to time, as will the organization's objectives.[1] When objectives change, it becomes necessary to re-distribute the work to deal with the new objectives, or new *whole task*. Where the whole task changes, perhaps imperceptibly, a little at a time, it often happens that attempts are made to do the changed task with the old functional allocations of the staff. This leads to inefficiency, and so, when old organizations are manifestly failing

[1]Harold Seidman, in *Politics, Position and Power* (OUP 1970), suggests an archæology of organizations in which, by examining the kinds of staff at different age levels or recruitment dates, one can discover the objectives that the organization was pursuing at each recruitment period.

to carry out their tasks, it is often the practice to set up new organizations to carry out one or more of these badly-done tasks. Thus one sees a proliferation of organs that wholly or partly duplicate existing ones: planning bureaux take over the executive tasks that should be performed by ministries; special corporations are set up to carry out tasks that are ineffectively done by government departments, and so on. (What country has not its agricultural development corporation or its industrial development corporation?) But even the new organizations, in their turn and as circumstances change, become less effective, unless they too are re-allocating their own functions as their own tasks change – ie. keeping their organizational structure flexible and adaptable. This is notoriously difficult to do, certainly to do well, in large organizations. This is partly because of the inertia of large organizations that were, perhaps, once well-adapted to their task, and whose staff are trained to perform in that way, and partly because the sub-system will be resistant to change. Change produces uncertainty and a sense of insecurity in which sub-systems work to maintain the old, secure situation.

It follows from this that one of the conditions for flexibility is personal security within the whole organization. If people feel secure, *other than* when incompetent or corrupt or misbehaving, the resistance to change and flexibility will be lessened.

Usually, then, one will be re-arranging functions among existing staff, because although individuals may be dismissed or recruited, it is not usually possible to throw out everyone in an organization and start all over again with new staff. Generally, the quality of the persons available to an organization can be improved only gradually. While the selection of good leaders at the critical points in an organization can have a very large effect on the efficiency of those under their control, it is important to take a long view of recruitment policies, so that such persons will be in the organization and so that they will have good material under them on which to work. Given the same material, a good leader can produce a much more effective team than a bad leader (and the latent, unutilized capacity of staff may be much greater than is apparent); but again, he can do much more with better material. For this reason, good organizations give great attention to recruitment policies, staff development policies and promotion policies.

These points have a considerable bearing on organizational structures, since it is often assumed that one can design an ideal structure (perhaps using systems analysis) and then find exactly the right person to fill each of the functional positions in it.[2] Even with new organizations, when this does seem more possible, it is rarely so. One has to make do with the nearest fit between man and job that one can get. One may be able to get a man who fits admirably some aspects of a job but ill fits other aspects; presumably one chooses the man who best fits those aspects that seem at the time most important, but this emphasis may change in time. When man and job do not fit exactly, one is faced almost immediately with the problem of re-arranging the work around the persons that one has. This is, in essence, the

[2]What Saul W. Gellerman, in *Management by Motivation* (American Management Association, 1968) calls the "hero fallacy".

formation of a *team*. One does not, of course, expect the goal-keeper to be able to play as centre-forward, but between many of the positions there is plenty of scope for interchange. Hanging over all this, is the further problem of personality. There are always players who will work together, and combine better, with certain players than with others; while other combinations will produce endless friction and trouble. The problem is to create a unit that combines well and makes the best use of the available talent. (This may be different from what a man thinks he is best at doing or thinks that he wants to do.) To achieve this might well mean placing men in positions other than those for which they were recruited or to which they were appointed. It will be obvious that this is very difficult to carry into effect in large organizations, since a head can have sufficiently close and intimate knowledge of only a limited number of persons from whom to build a good team. This is why when new organizations are set up, they are constructed from the top downwards, each head handing down a separate bundle of responsibilities to a limited number of individuals immediately answerable to him, and so on by those individuals. When, later, as circumstances change, these bundles of responsibilities are not altered and the organization shows signs of flagging, the tendency is to try to exercise more centralised control, and to define jobs according to some theoretical pattern throughout. This is the negation of team-building.

If, then, one has more usually to design structures so as to make the best use of the persons that one has, this would argue that there can be no ideal form of organization. Nevertheless, there will be functions that have to be performed, if the task is to be accomplished. Organizations of the same general kind will tend to have the same particular functions. In an industry there will be production, marketing, accounting, legal functions, and many others, and there will be sub-functions of these. And so all organizations will have to have a functional structure (something like the bundles of responsibilities) – specific tasks that have to be done, very like the positional structure of a football team. This functional structure corresponds to the sub-systems of the organization. It cannot be constantly changing and, indeed, many of the functions will continue whatever the different tasks of the organization may be. For example, there must always be accounting. One of the dangers here is that these functions and their sub-systems become increasingly specialist and/or professional. As they do so, they develop their own purely accounting (or other) objectives and, in pursuing accounting perfectionism, they may hinder or hamper the major organizational objectives. All professional groups tend to set their own objectives and to seek their own perfectionism, even when such perfectionism may not be in the interests of the whole organization. However, functional structures, because of their nature, tend to have a certain persistence over time. The problem of flexibility to meet changing circumstances and changing overall objectives becomes one of (a) changing detailed functions within broad functions so as to make the best use of the men available, and (b) being able to move the men about so as to make the best use of their various abilities and to form better combinations of human resources. That is to say, each administrator (or manager) needs as much flexibility for forming and re-arranging his team as is reasonably possible in the area for which he is responsible. This

means that the *staff* structure must be different from the *organizational* structure.

There is, today, increasing specialisation, so that even quite small segments of work are sub-divided and become, if not professionally or technically skilled, at least something near that. (This refers, of course, not to purely specialist functions, where particular technical or professional skills or knowledge are required – doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, engineers, draughtsmen, and so on – but to the broad administrative, executive and clerical groups.) This is aided and abetted by trade union or staff association pressures, directed at improvements in particular positions, that encourage the tendency to segment these groups, so that personnel and accounts work, for example, fall into separate segments, and so on. Even at higher levels, where it might be supposed that one needed specialists in these divisions, this is often not the case. What one requires in the higher positions is leadership rather than technical or professional competence. (One can always hire the technical competence, if required, either within one's own country or abroad. Once an activity becomes professionalised, it usually requires much greater knowledge than is ever going to be used on the job, while those who can pass theoretical – or practical – examinations are not necessarily good administrators.) In addition, in many countries the educational system is not universal. Potential leaders may exist who have not been selected by the system, if only because they have not been in it or have been unable to afford to complete it. In any case, the educational system selects by different criteria. These people may, for various reasons, have been unable to acquire the special qualifications asked for or the general degrees that would admit them to the higher administrative cadres. As a result, latent abilities may be numbed or frustrated and turned into disruptive forces, either within the organization or outside it.

One of the effects of this is that those who enter an organization at a lower level are assigned to a particular function and tend to become permanently labelled with that function (and, of course, within that function they should be acquiring valuable knowledge of it).

At the same time as there are pressures from the staff side to segment jobs more and more, so it becomes a convenience on the management side to choose for promotion those already established in the field in which the promotion occurs. (One could almost state as a principle of personnel management that "management by convenience" is bad management.) If they do not, they lay themselves open to attack from those in that field. And so rigidities become built into the systems. (The outside-right can never play centre-half.) There is then a tendency for staff structure to become a replica of the organizational structure, and so to be inflexible. This can be further encouraged by job-grading – the application of O. and M. to personnel management. In job-grading, jobs become fairly precisely defined, with their own descriptions and, often, qualifications. It is often welcomed (or even demanded) by the staff since it can be used as the basis for claims for additional pay or for promotion. If X's job falls vacant, Y, who has been working under him, considers that he has a better claim to the job than Z who, although senior and more experienced and able generally, has

not been working in that particular field. Whichever way the case is handled, either by transferring Z across the board to promotion or by moving Y upward to promotion, there will be dissatisfaction and management will be in the wrong.

In the general administrative side of any organization, which is what we are considering here, job-grading is meaningless. One can only grade the man. A job-grader, or a job-grading team that examines an office at a particular date will, in fact, be grading men. Those who are good, no matter what their theoretical job is, or is called, will be doing more. They attract work to themselves because of their ability or, even more, their sense of responsibility. The fact that they are good causes their superiors to rely on them more, because it is known that they can do it better and can be trusted. When they are promoted and succeeded, perhaps, by someone less good, the job changes in value and significance. Apart from the fact that the successor has to learn the job, which will be made easier for him, and will be compensated by his superior placing less reliance on him (especially if he is less able than his predecessor), then he will begin to shed work which will be transferred either to his superior or to others. A new job-grader visiting the office at a later date would assess the job quite differently and also the other jobs in the office that have taken over some of its work and responsibility. This is why it is not unusual to find, on the promotion of an exceptionally able man, that two or more are required to do the work that he alone did before. An exceptionally able man can turn a quite lowly-classified job into one that is much more responsible. Job-classification can, therefore, often be no more than an attempt to apply a pseudo-scientific technique of job analysis to an office. It either grades the man, with resulting imbalances when he goes, or it grades to some theoretical norm which, if adhered to, would leave some able man less than fully occupied (and so frustrated) or some unable man unable to cope. This last causes it to grade to very low norms. If we seek for the administrator of any sub-system the maximum flexibility in team-building, then we must seek a staff structure that is related to men and not jobs, that grades men and is not connected with the vertical, and functional, organizational structure. This suggests that there are two basic ways of organizing staff structures: (a) vertically and functionally; (b) horizontally by men. In essence the latter means that one grades men by their personal characteristics, abilities and capacity for carrying responsibility.

The disadvantages of vertical structures have been noted. A disadvantage of horizontal structures is that they enable a man to be promoted to the next grade, because he will be able to cope with that level of responsibility and work, although he may be quite unable to rise to further heights. Yet when promotion to the next grade is required the only talent available may well be men who have just made the grade below and who should not go further. A structure that starts from some low and limited grade will not attract as recruits able men who could hold higher positions in due course, but rather those who are satisfied with a job at that grade. Thus the whole organization is weakened since it attracts poor recruits. (This effect is compounded by vertical structures, since the staff in each vertical segment will spend much of their time doing complicated calculations of how they would have pro-

gressed if they had been in another segment, where promotion prospects are better, or taking steps to get themselves transferred to such stations.) Clearly this factor, of poorer recruitment, is less important (a) if employment opportunities are scarce, since some good men will be recruited and, anyway, not all can achieve the higher posts, and (b) where the incidence of education is erratic; so that those with leadership will often be under-educated and have to take lower jobs; but this is only so if the organization takes steps to educate and train such men subsequent to recruitment. Nevertheless, the factor is sufficiently real for nearly all organizations to look for other means of recruiting to higher levels, so that these levels will not be poor because of poor recruitment at the bottom.

Basically, such recruitment to the higher levels other than by promotion is on a class basis. This may be a social class basis: recruiting to the upper strata those who are members of, sons of, or on the fringes of, the ruling class, whether it be a social class, a party, or some similar group. It may, in theory, not be on a class basis, but on different standards of educational attainment (as once in Britain where, until the spread of education, educational standards were broadly attainable only by certain social classes). On the other hand, a social class system, of the kind that accepts that it is right and proper that sons of the privileged should have privileges, may not exist, or may be frowned upon. In such circumstances, social class is replaced by educational class. Apart from the fact that, in many countries, the educational system is arbitrary and erratic in its incidence, so that it is not a good classification, and in other countries is similar to a social class system or may create one, choosing men by educational class poses the question as to the relevance of the education for such a purpose. This raises difficult problems to which there are not satisfactory answers. The subject is relevant to the problem of staff structures only because it has been a means of overcoming the poor recruitment at lower levels and the unsuitability for promotion of most recruited at these levels.

Without trying to answer this problem directly, one can simply take it as existing and try to ameliorate it. We know that able candidates for recruitment will want some idea of their prospects and will largely derive this from gossip among those who they think know. Such gossip, however, will be based on the actual situation. (They will also, if they have a choice of jobs, want to know whether it is a satisfying organization for which to work.) We know also that we shall want to draw up through the ranks all the available talent, even if not educationally highly-qualified, as far as it can go, since talent is not a plentiful commodity. It is reasonable to expect that, other things being equal, a man who works on a particular job will become more valuable in it as he learns more about it, and so will expect, and should reasonably be given, increases in pay. It may be that these increases should be variable and depend, at least in theory, on performance, as is done in many concerns. There may be some incentive value in this, in spite of the great difficulty in many cases of measuring performance other than subjectively. Against this, however, must be set the likelihood that performance would become sycophantic rather than effective and that some independence of mind might be lost. The "internal politics" of many organizations suggests

that a man needs some measure of security from his superior if the organization is to gain from his capabilities.

A man may be ready to take a job when he is young, with few, if any, in family, at a relatively low salary, provided that he has a reasonable prospect of more as his family responsibilities grow. (In some countries, with extended family systems, of course, family responsibilities tend to grow in direct proportion to income, as more and more of a very extended family become to some extent dependent.) How far can this factor be taken? In Japan it is applied to a large range of the labour force, so that older men are paid more than younger simply because they are older. This has many virtues in establishing emotional stability and identifying men with the organization for which they work. Does this make a case, on the administrative side, for long salary scales in which, if men are not up to the higher jobs, then they are paid more than they are worth? How, anyway, is worth to be measured? As a man works longer in an organization it may be expected that his work will become more valuable – up to a point. Beyond that point, which is different for each, does his value still increase? He may be contributing more in loyalty and stability than is apparent from his work alone. On the other hand, he may not. How important are loyalty and stability in a situation of rapid change? Without attempting to answer this question, we may note that the Japanese rate them highly and seem able to combine them with adaptability.

Long salary scales have the advantage that they enable the skilled management of persons to work to the full. The staff can be deployed in the most advantageous way. All men are different. They have different qualities and different interests, even though their nominal qualifications may be the same. The skilled administrator will wish to deploy his staff to the best advantage, making full use of their special abilities and characteristics. When jobs are finely graded, this is not possible because problems of promotion and status cut across the personnel management skills. With long scales men can be allotted the jobs suitable for them without arousing much personal feeling or tension. But the price is high. Many are going to be paid much more than they are worth – unfortunately, too many. Efforts will then be made by individual administrators to shift such people sideways into someone else's section or department, and much effort will go into gathering the better ones into one's own department. This will, of course, happen in all situations, but long salary scales accentuate it. At the same time, the spur of promotion is removed. Horizontal segmentation of salary scales is designed to overcome this disadvantage. It offers opportunity of quick promotion to the more able, and the knowledge of this possibility may act as an inducement to recruits of quality to come forward at a level that would discourage them if they saw it as their end as well as their beginning. For this to be so, there must be the knowledge that it *is* taking place, and not that it can in theory take place.

But the horizontal segmentation must be of persons, not of jobs. If it becomes one of jobs, and we have noted the tendency for this to happen, then it will become vertical segmentation as well. The job becomes more significant than the man. A vacancy in, say, the personnel section is filled by the next most experienced man in that section, although there may be more able as

well as more senior men in other sections. Reward is not related to merit and has too great an appearance of chance. Chance, of course, is always present but, if it appears dominant, morale and striving are weakened.

From all these considerations it is possible to reach some conclusions:–

i. It is clear that there must be vertical, functional segmentation in any organization over a certain size, since the segments correspond to real enough classes of work: accounts, supplies, establishments and personnel, records, filing and correspondence, and so on. Although much of these activities overlap and it may be a matter of argument whether a particular piece of work should be done by one or another, a breakdown of administration and administrative services is necessary. The staff, however, should not be segmented on this basis.

ii. Job-grading is unreal and, in fact, grades the man not the job; better to accept this and grade men.

iii. Skilled management of persons – getting the best out of men, putting them in the jobs that suit their peculiarities best, constructing the jobs around the men, taking account of personal relations between individuals, and thereby making men happier – requires that jobs should not be graded. If men are graded, their superiors can organize the work in the most suitable way. This means too that, for reasons of personality (the "I don't like his face" situation), a man who may have crossed his superiors and had poor reports can be moved without loss of face to another post under someone else, where he may be able to do well, since an individual's performance will vary from one superior to another. It follows that the wider the area covered by a common personnel system, the greater the scope for making personal transfers and adjustments.

iv. Very long scales, however advantageous for recruitment, have the disadvantage of being liable to carry a lot of dead-weight and mean that there is little promotional spur.

v. It is desirable to attract at any level of recruitment the best that can be got, and these may not necessarily be those with the best educational qualifications; able men can come in, and will do so, if they are sure that promotion can be obtained reasonably rapidly on the basis of merit.

vi. Fairly frequent promotions are a constant encouragement and a satisfaction when achieved. In view of the general shortage of talent (for leadership), it is necessary to ensure that able men in the lower grades, who will be there because of their lack of educational qualifications, are sought out, given the education of which they are capable, and which matches the needs of the organization, and promoted.

vii. Length of service should also be rewarded and, for this reason, it would be reasonable to have horizontal segments with increments, and those segments could overlap, so that those who might not be

eligible for promotion could achieve a reasonable income and status as they grew older and carried greater personal responsibilities. In this way tensions that hinder application to the job, and encourage men to devote too much time and effort to personal betterment rather than the betterment of the organization, would be reduced.

viii. Discretional increments seem to have more arguments against than for them, and lead to undesirable superior/inferior relationships as well as to too frequent situations of personal tension.

The general conclusion is in favour of horizontal segmentation based on grading the man and not the job. When a vacancy occurs in the grade above, then all in the grade below have an equal chance of getting it, depending on their ability and work. It implies that experience in a particular job is of less significance than general ability. This seems to be valid for most kinds of administrative work. Indeed, experience and training in a particular section or function, while making one more efficient in that function, often prevent one from seeing that function in relation to the whole and may inhibit one in thinking of ways to improve it.

What one is looking for, under the head of "ability" or "talent," is the man who can create and lead an effective team. This does not necessarily require any specialism although, in certain fields, where the composition of the team is specialised, then its members may only accept leadership from another specialist. Often, however, the specialist proves himself to be no leader. One of the chief jobs of management is to spot the talent for leadership, or the potential for it, and to set up a system, and so run it, that the emergence of leadership capacity will be stimulated.

We are left with one problem: how does one know how many posts of each grade are required in any section, if there is no job analysis? This is not so difficult as it appears at first sight, although it cannot be done exactly; but the apparent exactness of job analysis is, as we have seen, illusory. Assuming, as is the usual practice, that an organization is constructed from the top downwards, by the parcelling out of bundles of responsibilities, it is possible for each level to assess broadly how many of these bundles, and of what quality, it requires. The men are graded according to their ability to carry certain levels of responsibility. This is what they are paid for, not for doing certain kinds of work. Although when tasks, objectives and functional organization is changed, there will be arguments about the numbers of different grades required, this happens equally when jobs are graded, and would certainly be no greater. The point is that the connection between the man and what he does is broken. He is paid in relation to his capacity for responsibility. He is used in the way that will best further the task of the organization.

A Rejoinder

By JOHN SARGENT

Mr. Sargent is Deputy Director, Royal Institute of Public Administration.

A purpose-built organization and an established staffing structure are necessary ingredients of any enterprise in either the governmental or private sector. Objectives, however clearly defined, the commands, controls and co-ordination will only be effective if the organization and the staff are properly motivated and are deployed with a degree of flexibility. Such flexibility must, however, reflect or even anticipate the changes of emphasis in the service – nothing is static. Rapid and often politically motivated changes, particularly in the developing countries, are very much part of the modern scene. Staff adaptability improves with security and one must agree that this security must be built into public authority staffing policies. Fair promotion prospects and little fear of redundancy must exist if staff response to change and pressures is required. Such fairness is more likely to be found where there is a sound hierarchy with just and accepted differentials in salary. When building an organization or changing it to suit new conditions one is ill-advised therefore to exaggerate personal qualities and build the staffing structure too firmly around promising or outstanding personalities. The analysis and breakdown of work should help to create job descriptions that will in total cover the whole service so that the posts can be filled by a range of people matching the vacancies that are clearly described. Personnel recruited, transferred or promoted must be blended by training and development into teams within the rules of the game. With normal but inevitable staff movement, promotion pressures and a broad-banded grading structure, one should be creating teams so that departmental objectives are realised even if individual officers move or fail to reach perfection of performance. This approach is preferred to being tempted by a personality cult – the crew are recruits to the ship and have to conform, with only slight variations, to a pattern. Some movement between tasks is desirable but post-entry training is the tool to use in such cases – and more reliable than re-designing the ship to utilise a brilliant navigator as deputy chef, or employing the purser to maintain the cabin ventilation even if they are capable of such versatility.

Why then is Mr. Carey Jones so worried about job grading and the application of O & M to personnel management? Perhaps in some places management techniques are crudely applied or pretend to be scientific. A few years ago, with full employment, the unit of staff was the anonymous pawn in the game of staff economics. Modern management now realises that a logical analysis of work and a grading structure in which newcomers can be at once matched and integrated is more workable as an organization structure than paying undue regard to the individual abilities and duties of job holders.

The building of job descriptions, now a common-place activity, has more than justified the time spent in studying the work. The job description is not only an aid to recruitment but is also a useful document to assist with transfer or promotion policies. Individual performances should be reflected by annual reports and promotion rather than by the haphazard regrading of jobs with the risk of permanent distortion. Job graders if properly trained learn to be objective and invariably make reasonable allowances for the inefficient and the sick. The setting of performance standards or targets can pin-point the lazy or highlight the industrious.

Obviously, if one compares the performance of individual clerks within a single grade some show up to advantage; likewise any inefficiency demonstrated should be a matter for supervisory action and the necessary application of disciplinary steps such as stopping increments or halting promotion at an efficiency barrier. Once one gets away from the concept of objectivity one reverts to the old-fashioned temptations of face-fitting or awarding a grade for the bluest eyes, a philosophy which is all too common in the family firm, the very small office and in some public services overseas although this is rapidly disappearing with the creation of public service boards and a better understanding of modern personnel management.

The essential ingredient of any job evaluation technique is that descriptions are based on fact and, when analysed, the jobs are ranked and paid for in relation to others within the organization. If recruitment and promotion are properly controlled, duty holders on a particular grade can and should graduate to the more complicated and better paid jobs in sensible sequence and at realistic time stages. If any particular staff member proves slow in development or is held back by a phase of stagnation, the promotion policy needs to be adjusted and so should provide a reasonable incentive. Should the calibre of available officers not measure up to the standards required for the next promotion step then there is an argument for the direct recruitment of staff of high quality to come into the organization with opportunities for accelerated promotion. Vertical staffing structures with minor seniority or merit adjustments, work extremely well in the large Government departments and only in the very small organizations can there be any possible acceptance of grading on an individual basis. Few now claim that any job evaluation scheme is really scientific although the more elaborate point systems do tend to imply a scientific basis. What one is really doing is to break down the work in such a way that minor errors of judgment or the complexity of various aspects of the job make comparatively little difference in the overall grading when the points are aggregated or the work content is contrasted with other duties.

Latent or potential ability and leadership qualities must be recognised by an imaginative promotion policy if staff are to be retained. In the United Kingdom Civil Service the range for promotion in terms of seniority is agreed in consultation with the staff associations. This range is much more generous than was the case years ago and it usually means that with the aid of information included in annual reports, one can dip down quite low on the seniority list and find people for immediate promotion who have shown the particular abilities required. By and large decisions to accelerate the

promotion of certain individuals are generally acceptable to the rank and file. In their new grading the promoted are given the scope and responsibility to show their special abilities without disturbing the overall staff structure. It is pretentious to suggest that the precise reward merited by any individual can be assessed by management. Such an assessment is not scientific and is often clouded by subjective or emotional considerations or on visible performance on a limited range of work – with the consequential dissatisfaction of other staff who feel they have been passed over unfairly and whose performance then tends to decline. Such individual assessments and the failure to gain the full confidence of staff associations together with inevitable friction arising from jealous or frustrated employees are all complications to be avoided. Establishment officers, by adopting a job evaluation scheme understood by all, are likely to achieve an harmonious performance. It is for these reasons that modern management and experienced consultants have considerable faith in properly designed job evaluation schemes and fear the accusations of unfairness that arise from individual grading and the industrial unrest that can follow such accusations.

Some Human Aspects of Manpower Planning in Developing Countries

by HUGH H. THOMSON

Mr. Thomson was formerly Director of Manpower and Training in Zambia.

THE field of manpower planning is clearly defined by specialist statisticians who, given the necessary economic data and the backing of a recent census conducted by reliable field staff and tested questionnaires can project the estimated manpower outputs and needs of a developing nation through forthcoming decades. Their predictions, reduced to round figure needs presented by sectors, industries, and professions are supported by tables showing manpower outputs at secondary school, college and university level. These last are usually drawn from the ambitious but not yet implemented sector of a current Development Plan devoted to the rapid expansion of educational facilities at all levels from primary school to university level. Let there be no doubt that to proceed *without* such a manpower appraisal as an integral part of the overall national development plan is as hazardous as announcing an expenditure programme without any consideration of income. Nevertheless, however sound the plan, it must be capable of adaptation so as to ride the many inevitable pressures in a newly developing country which will affect the statistical projections but not in accordance with more predictable and measurable experience in the developed countries.

Imperfectly marshalled field staff before and during the census period; suspicious if not hostile attitudes to questioning particularly in rural areas; incomplete and imperfect answers arising from illiteracy and misunderstanding are not significant or for examination at this time. The census figures as finally recorded and developed are the basis of the manpower plan. The projections set out will provide a basis for future development planning and no economist or commentator of any merit would reasonably expect them to be confirmed by time and results with monotonous regularity – the perfect fulfilment of a perfect projection. They might, however, ponder upon those forces or rather pressures within the developing country which adversely affect the likelihood of a well constructed manpower plan reflecting the actual pattern of development.

The pivot of the nation's skills is the secondary or high school leaver who, even if he does not progress to university or to further training, very rapidly becomes the most plentiful and best available material for utilization in the labour force. It is certain that at the time of independence or rapid development secondary school education will be limited as far as national youth is concerned; it will certainly be far from universally available. Moreover those who have completed a full secondary school programme will have been creamed off at the primary and certainly at the middle school levels. Results at the school leaving point will bear comparison with any sophisticated

country, as the few existing schools are well equipped and often staffed with career expatriate teachers. It is unreasonable to assume that these standards whether of teaching or pupil achievement can or will be maintained with the implementation of a "crash" programme to expand secondary schools where the sole limitations are finance and building capacity. Even assuming an equivalent expansion of teacher training facilities to provide additional secondary school teachers, and an immediate and increasing supply of expatriate teachers to fill the gap, other pressures will bear upon the pivot area of the educational programme.

Even before the inevitable but increasing departure of experienced expatriate teachers, those nationals who are dedicated teachers, several of them being groomed for secondary school headmastership, will disappear into the maw of central government – not only as assistant secretary today and permanent secretary tomorrow in the civil service, but to take political posts in central government. It is scarcely surprising but nonetheless unfortunate that such a demand should be made in a critical area. Protestations by the National Teachers' Union can well result within two years in examinations to enter the civil service being open to all teachers, and the trickle will become a stream which cannot be stemmed, least of all by the uncertain flow of graduates from Teacher Training Colleges which are not yet fully staffed nor filled by adequately qualified students. Youth at the early stage of national development does not see a comparatively underpaid teaching profession as the best of careers with which to satisfy ambition.

The effect throughout the education system can be summed up as imbalance in favour of bricks and mortar with a corresponding lack of teachers, particularly experienced teachers; more school places at all school levels and less need to cream; lowering grades of results at all levels and the concomitant need to lower standards of entry to University in order to turn out more graduates at any cost – this last as much a political manoeuvre as a calculated educational policy. Thus the "A" level school programme or its equivalent may be removed and "O" level become the utmost point of school education. Frequently there is only one University which will go along with this situation – the not yet completed National University will permit say five "O" levels instead of two "A" levels as a basis of entry. Thus this University neither staffed nor orientated to teach becomes a Junior College with a student body between 15–18 years old not yet ready to assimilate through the media of lecture room and tutor what should have been taught in the classroom.

Another important derivative of this downgrading process is the composition of university intakes and indirectly the balance between requirements in the sciences and arts. Generally speaking universities in the United Kingdom and the older Commonwealth countries pitch their university entry standards at "A" level and will not stretch their standards; the United States education system is better structured for the situation exposed and can take "O" level standards into junior college and, given time, prepare them for a full master's degree course; many Western European countries aside from a language problem have standards equivalent to the United Kingdom and will only rarely stretch them to take "O" level candidates; some post World War II

Commonwealth countries which have tended to adopt lower standards themselves will accept a few non-national candidates but these places are the least sought after by the newest members; any Eastern European country will take "O" level candidates for university courses, many of them at special universities set up to deal with sub-standard qualifications from overseas countries – but here the interest is predominantly and openly ideological rather than educational. Even in these last circumstances candidates who are accepted will be in the arts rather than the sciences.

Again the new national university will inevitably offer from the outset faculties of law, economics and social studies, but will take time to offer any fully developed degree course in the sciences – the very subjects which will be in greatest demand both immediately and for decades to come. Nevertheless the secondary school leaver will find that he or she is directed on grounds of economy, if nothing else, to go and enjoy one of the courses available at the national university, irrespective of inclination, aptitude or qualification.

Again there is the danger that academic qualification will, from the very thirst for knowledge, develop into an end rather than a means. It will also be found that the student may even where qualified by subject proficiency decline the more rigorous and exacting disciplines of the sciences in favour of the humanities, where self expression, discussion and point of view are of the essence. Later and at all costs, he will try to go anywhere overseas for university training. All this will take place during the first flush of the new economic and/or political revolution, whether in a state newly independent of colonial rule or an older nation breaking away from established conservatism.

It is plain that these forces are moving contrary to the calculated output and demand figures for manpower. In addition even where the bricks and mortar sector of educational expansion is up to date, the teacher supply programme is not. This shortage may not deter the pupil who is brilliant at "O" level but it may prevent him from going further at school or (his greatest ambition) going on to qualify as he deserves in a science faculty at a university overseas – in addition he is thwarted by the limitation of the National University which is probably not established long enough or ready to offer the course that he wants. All the dreams, all the aspirations are there, but also the frustration of not progressing – either with hard work or without it.

It is from this situation that develops the international network of people and agencies who care – from all over the world, West, East, North and South – inspired by goodwill or political motives, by the coincidence of acquaintance or other ties – by virtue of personal advantage or disadvantage, they all contrive to give some and often the ablest of the secondary school leavers the best of opportunities wherever they can be found in the world. In the national conscience there is room for this deviation from policy, and just a glimmering of recognition that this will pay off while the home education system is catching up, however laboriously, and nothing is done to hinder these special placings which frequently represent but a fractional part of real needs.

The real problem area has yet to be examined – the allocation of available and scarce resources to indefinite and extensive needs in an expanding economy with compounded demands from both government, *quasi* government and private sectors.

For example in 1968 the Zambia copper mining industry employed a science graduate force of 1,250, and of these three were nationals. The evident opportunity to make justifiable political capital out of this statement should be overlooked at this time in order to isolate the disturbing manpower situation whereby even if all the Zambian science graduates in the country, including doctors, had been transferred to the industry, the imbalance would have been altered to at the most 20 out of 1,250. In studying the manpower plan it is a matter of little relevance what the projections of science graduate requirements are in the mining industry (never mind the rest of the economy) since for at least ten years Zambian nationals cannot by any stretch of the imagination fill even 50 per cent of the posts in the mining industry alone.

This example merely serves to illustrate one aspect of the shortfall in graduate output both in quantity and by profession. The acute shortage is naturally spread across the remainder of the private sector and into the public sector but overall it is symptomatic of the allocation problems in developing countries which are of the following pattern.

Prior to independence or the beginning of a rapid development era many expatriate-dominated enterprises in all fields, from banking to mining and transportation to manufacture refuse to "lower their standards." A handful of nationals are appointed as front men usually in the public relations field or as non-functional members of the local board of directors. Immediately after independence foreign interests rush frantically around demanding graduates by the dozen and not finding them, throw up their hands and with some satisfaction announce that "without the appropriate material it is impossible to nationalise industry." One year after independence and fearful of ejection or government takeover they are setting up their own training programmes – local and overseas – scouting for as promising qualifications as they can find and paying any salary to entice the best available candidate. The repercussions are obvious. Even the school leaver, thwarted of further academic opportunity, finds himself wooed on all sides. The even scarcer graduate is sought after both by the politicians who need his latent talent within the government and by the private sector who will buy him in order at the worst to stay in business. Wastage in industrial manpower is reported as rising to 30 and 40 per cent per annum and sometimes more in the scarcest supply areas. There is no such high wastage in the government service, which expands more easily to create places and absorb manpower surpluses.

This last feature of the government sector leads in its own turn to a series of human problems. Early after independence the desire to hold on to expatriate experience is soon in conflict with the desire to be independent of it. There is a tendency in the early days to over-nationalise in the skilled manpower fields – thus to over-accentuate the demand for scarce manpower having either or both a sophisticated base and valid experience. In turn, too

rapid takeover of responsible areas and the hurried filling of gaps in expanding ministry organisational charts lead solely to a movement of the same responsibility and decision making to a higher level – the process is continued throughout the echelons of government until the Cabinet, the Central Party Committee and the President may each and all find themselves beset with the need to make decisions on trivia which should never have been brought to their attention in the first place. The overburden will also lead to parallel lines of administration and execution, and to competing decisions on similar if not the same issues by any two or all of three authorities.

The pool of men adequately qualified for promotion is dried up very rapidly and there begins that insidious practice of filling posts at all costs; even more costly in manpower is the process of fragmentation which enables areas of responsibility to be subdivided (thus compounding the need to consult before committing), thereby slowing up the decision making processes to a point where it becomes difficult to find who is responsible for making the decision and more convenient to avoid making it at all. The next line to go is that difficult one between administrative decision and executive action; this becomes so blurred that personally signed Head of State instructions can appear on the same day on the government's policy of non-alignment with foreign blocs, and the rates of overtime to be paid to Grade III drivers in the civil service.

All these features of slow-up in the machinery of government are the by-product of shortages in skilled and experienced manpower. They have positive consequences. A growing suspicion of the motives and activities of old expatriate employees is offset by a keen search for new advisers to show how the production line can be reorganised and made effective. This has its healthy aspects since there is a growing likelihood that the small number of remaining but experienced expatriates will endeavour to turn the clock back rather than forward in an attempt to re-establish former efficiency standards now unrealistic and totally unacceptable; the fact that their experience cannot easily be replaced is another matter. The counter danger will be that new advisers arriving with fresh minds and purposeful energy will not attune themselves to human attitudes as well as to problem solving – in short to the need to provide ideas, solutions, programmes, plans without seeking an excessive share of personal or agency credit. During the last decade the most excellent plans presented at times of real need by able and dedicated men from meaningful agencies have failed in presentation. The same plans made by the same men and the same agencies could have succeeded *if* credits had been foregone and the appropriate national minister, council or institute had been given full and unequivocal right to undersign the work – the plan is never so important as its fulfilment, and fulfilment is based as much on acceptability and the desire to appear constructive as on executive capability. It is the development that matters not the non-national developer.

Amidst the whirlpool of demand for manpower and the struggle to meet demand there is in many developing countries the essential anomaly of a new and expanding government founded on a democratic upbringing. The need to establish sound and stable government is overriding at any stage of development and if no other base than democracy is available then it must

be utilised. But it should not be regarded as surprising that the one party state evolves as an almost inevitable counter to manpower shortage – where know-how and experience are scarcely sufficient to man one party and one government, why dissipate available strength by having two in competition? The early stages of development demand one party and one cabinet even if the original team (if not the original leader) do outstay their full vigour and by this tendency aggravate yet another human problem.

As we have seen when the government ranks empty of expatriates there is a rapid move to promote and fill the original establishments of both party and civil service. This can be rapidly achieved but may in turn lead to a process of fragmentation designed not from a meaningful study of functional requirements but rather from a desire to satisfy personal ambitions and having nothing to do with productivity. The organisational chart and not productivity tends to become the prerequisite of status. The main expansion process will take two to three years and, setting aside all considerations of real needs, efficiency or cost, will ensure a move into the higher echelons of both government and civil service of the men who were in the right place at the right time rather than the best qualified to move upwards. Many in the highest posts will be 28–40 years of age, while others particularly in the middle grades, will be much older men with a low academic base – certainly not higher than middle school; such a base may be unobjectionable in a developed country, but not, as we shall see, in a newly and rapidly developing country.

Into this situation will arrive new graduates, firstly from overseas and later from the national university, eager to participate in government and take over industry, and above all ready to show the magic of their academic advantage. They will be enthusiastically welcomed and given a special entry point to the career ladder somewhere around the fourth rung from the bottom, with no vision of promotion or authority in the foreseeable future. Subsequent frustration is speedy and frequently justified even if, in some cases, there may be a naive desire to start at the top of the ladder and go (not work) upwards. Certainly the prospect of an echelon of superiors less well qualified academically and with 20 to 30 years apparent service ahead of them is discouraging to any new arrival. Here spring forth some of the seeds of political unrest – the new intelligentsia will certainly provide enthusiastic supporters if not its leaders.

Meanwhile the young graduate will move away from government towards the private sector – the private sector will compete and rejoice and the salary opportunities, certainly in terms of take home pay, will encourage the young men to move from the first bidder to the better bidder. For many this is the road to unsettled employment and disillusionment beginning with the discovery that the private sector ladder also has a fourth rung from the bottom.

Thus we move towards the take-over situation – frustration is blamed upon opportunity not given; the Party is aware that it is losing the support of educated youth and that its political old guard is flagging and not able to improve as its responsibilities increase. Strength must be shown and

opportunities created in a commercial and industrial context where conservative overseas based interests are retarding progress – as indeed they sometimes do in a too facile attempt to maintain standards which are no longer valid or appropriate. This in no time will be regarded as a major obstacle to progress and will speed up the move to take over or nationalise industry creating in turn a further aggravation of manpower shortages for which some allowance may or may not have been made in the original plan.

As far as take-over is concerned, the validity of a governmental policy, which seeks to establish its own national central bank, together with more universally available credit and insurance facilities, is beyond argument. This is especially true in the case of countries which feel their economic progress has for decades been retarded by a lack of investment capital and the dead hand of care and maintenance colonial government policies. But the new policy and its justification does not remove the dangerous period following its implementation when once again a limited reservoir of experienced manpower is tapped to provide for still greater expansion in a critical field. Moreover, government promoted credit banks in developing countries stem from the need for cheap money against low security without which few national entrepreneurs would be able to emerge, develop or expand. Thus without consideration the aggravation of manpower demands must be deemed supportable in the light of the ends which have to be achieved.

Throughout the dynamism of progress runs the thread of frustration created by standards based upon clearly delineated degree, diploma and doctorate qualifications and supplemented by sophisticated training and study opportunities which seem to mitigate against the national candidate from the outset. It is evident therefore that a part solution to our manpower problem must be some transformation of standards which will improve opportunity and remove frustration without destroying the productivity of the enterprise whether governmental or industrial. A tolerable example is that of the Zambian copper mining industry where a committee chaired by a government Minister was set up with official representatives from the management, the government and the trade unions to examine what measures could be taken either by fragmentation or fresh job evaluations to increase the level of contribution made by nationals to the industrial effort, this to be achieved while admitting the situation outlined earlier in this paper that only three professional men were available out of a working total of 1,250. In a mining industry where not only productivity but also human safety is a critical factor, it was remarkable how much readjustment (with a minimum of training) could be carried out in order to involve nationals at levels of responsibility which their experience alone had long justified but which had been denied by false standards of promotion. To a limited extent, redeployment of this nature provides relief on demand for fresh manpower, educated and trained.

A total regard for the problem reveals that the tendency for governments to become involved in isolated sectoral planning is the greatest obstacle hampering effective manpower planning in the developing countries. There are many examples of over concentration on political considerations – the need to attract public attention, to provide prestige enterprises, to ensure

electoral palliatives has resulted in various types of over investment not the least in education programmes. Every thought and sinew are concentrated on more schools and more pupils but too little or no thought is given to their employment in five to fifteen years time when calculable increases will appear on the labour market – even less thought to the levels at which surpluses will appear whether through lack of ability or inclination on the one hand or shortage of places in the further academic or training institutions on the other. Nonetheless new industries and enterprises are frequently launched under the umbrella of pioneer industry legislation providing built-in advantages in the fields of taxation, tariffs and investment capital while frequently overlooking the *provision*, not just the need, for considerable numbers of skilled and unskilled labour, never mind technical and professional men. Another side effect of isolated sectional expansion in industry, is to draw off essential labour from the agricultural sector, usually one of major importance, before it has adapted itself to improved methods and techniques which could support a decreasing labour force.

Thus, the list of problems is depressingly long and can in itself induce a sense of muddle and despair which need not be justified since human problems inevitably have human solutions. The overriding need is to bring together in the National Development Plan component factors of finance (both capital and recurrent), manpower and materials and apply them to the carefully appraised and balanced needs of the economy. This statement of the obvious is not proposed as a solution but as an objective in the light of which thought can be given to the establishment of an effective planning office embracing manpower considerations and planning as a major and integral part of the total effort and not just an ill considered adjunct to it – not an afterthought but a forethought, a main indicator as to whether the plan in its various sectors taken as a whole will be feasible in the first place. Political considerations apart, feasibility has often been based on apparently thorough financial and physical studies which make only shallow reference to manpower requirements and availabilities and, not least, dramatic population increases. It is not the manpower needs which are so important as the manpower outputs capable of matching the more easily identified needs.

Whether the Development Planning Office is situated in the Treasury, the Ministry of Economic Development or is an adjunct to the President's or Prime Minister's office will vary from country to country. Location is of secondary importance so long as it is well structured, effective in so far as its endeavours are a reflection of a balanced political policy and far seeing in so far as it allows constant adjustment in the light of recurring and changing human situations in the manpower planning area. Behind the structure itself there will need to be infinite human patience and endeavour inspired not least by the certain knowledge that world overpopulation and underemployment are not points of debate but dangerous realities. Moreover that the pattern for both is already set for twenty years ahead – the numerical figures cannot be arbitrarily altered but their deployment can at least be planned with courage.

Demographic Statistics and the Administrator

By DAVID LUCAS

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Introduction

To some extent the following discussion of demographic or population statistics is a sequel to Professor Roberts' article "Statistics and the Administrator," which appeared in this Journal in October, 1968. In many developing countries the civil service administrator has been concerned with one particular source of demographic data – the population census – for decades, although prior to the 'sixties, census statistics were usually not reliable enough to provide the administrator (in Professor Roberts' terms) with "a quantitative understanding of the past and present" or with "some meaningful guides to future action".

What is Demography?

Demography is the scientific study of the size, geographical distribution, and composition of human populations; and demographers tend to focus their attention on fertility, mortality, marriage, migration, and social mobility.

Geoffrey Hawthorn observes that "Populations are the product of birth, migration, and death rates. Demography is the name conventionally given to the study of the nature and interactions of these rates in human populations, and the effects of changes on the composition and growth of such populations".[1] Such measures are examined more fully below, but it follows that since demography is concerned with rates, the demographer is concerned with aggregates, not with individuals.

Some Demographic Terms:

The simplest (and least informative) measures are the *crude* rates, which relate to the whole population.

The Crude Birth Rate is the annual number of births per thousand persons in the population.

The Crude Death Rate is the annual number of deaths per thousand persons.

[1] *The Sociology of Fertility* by Geoffrey Hawthorn, page 1. Collier-Macmillan, 1970.

The Crude Rate of Natural Increase is the difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate. Overall, the less developed countries have high birth rates and high rates of increase, as is shown below:

	Crude Birth Rate	*Crude Death Rate*	*Rate of Increase*
More developed countries	20	9	11
Less developed countries	40	18	22

Crude rates are inadequate for many purposes because they fail to allow for the age and sex composition of the population: for example, the number of births depends on the proportion of women and their ages. Although the 1969 death rates for the United Kingdom were 12 and 8 (per thousand) respectively,[2] it would be wrong to assume that health and living conditions were better in Jamaica. 41 per cent of Jamaica's population were under 15 years of age, and only 4 per cent were over 64. The United Kingdom's ageing population (23 per cent under 15, and 12 per cent over 64) meant a higher death rate. So there is a need for *specific* rates which relate to particular categories within the population.

Age Specific Birth Rates refer to the annual number of births per thousand women in specific age groups (usually 15–19 years, 20–24 years, etc.). Derived from the age specific birth rates is the *Gross Reproduction Rate* which shows the number of daughters per women passing through the fertile part of life, and this provides an indicator of the extent to which the population is reproducing itself.

To examine trends over time the demographer often uses a technique known as cohort analysis. A *Birth Cohort* (or generation) is a group of individuals all born in a particular year, and for a given cohort a *Life Table* can be constructed showing the probability of surviving between particular ages (e.g. between birth and the first birthday). From the life table, the expectation of life at birth can be calculated.

Of course, a multitude of other demographic terms exists: fortunately for both the layman and expert an excellent "Demographic Dictionary" has been prepared by the United Nations.[3]

Sources of Demographic Data:

The two major sources are national censuses and vital registration statistics. Whereas the census provides a cross-sectional view at a given moment in time, vital registration (of births, deaths and marriages) is needed if the dynamics of population growth are to be studied. Registration certificates usually provide a variety of information which can usefully be analysed – for example to show mortality in different occupations.

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[2]See *Population and Family Planning Programs*[1] *A Factbook* by Dorothy Nortman. Population Council, 1970.

[3]*Multilingual Demographic Dictionary*, United Nations Population Studies No. 29, 1958.

Given a minimum of two good censuses, or one good census plus good survey or registration data, reasonable projections of the growth of population can be made; the administrator should consider the implications of these projections to determine whether a definite population policy (either pro- or anti-natalist) is feasible or necessary.

The Administrator and the Collection of Census Data:

The Traditional Census: By the beginning of the 20th century most colonial countries were preparing periodic estimates of the population based on tax registers and impressionistic surveys by local officials. These estimates were superseded by actual counts of the population, which were usually very rudimentary and accomplished at low cost. In some countries (such as Lesotho and Swaziland in 1956), little attention was paid to the spatial distribution of the population. Usually no checks on the count were implemented, and anomalies (such as an apparent decline in the population) were easily explained away by the Administration as being due to an epidemic, a famine, or migration. The efficiency of the census count was rarely questioned, under-enumeration was a common occurrence, and since the census results were not properly documented, criticism by outside experts was unlikely.

Traditionally, therefore, the census was not of high priority to the District or Secretariat official, although perhaps he occasionally needed to know the approximate number of school children or potential tax-payers. In Portuguese territories the census may have provided an estimate of the number of labourers available for compulsory contract labour, but in British colonies little use was made of the census figures.

The Modern Census:

All this was to change: apart from an overall improvement in statistical standards throughout the world, better data was needed by sophisticated planners in the fields of economics, education and health; also, the census assumed considerable political importance in newly independent countries. Accurate details of the distribution of the population were necessary for electoral delimitation for under-enumeration in any one area could mean its under-representation in the legislature.

Post-war, the standard of census-taking improved rapidly. The United Nations was setting standards, codifying definitions and dispatching experts. The Ministerial official was required to be much more statistics-conscious in order to satisfy the demands of international organisations and donor agencies, who, quite reasonably, expected a country to prove, by statistics, where it was going. House-to-house surveys and the collection of data about each individual replaced "census by assembly"; sampling surveys were developed, and demographers devised ingenious techniques for calculating fertility, mortality, and the rate of natural increase, from poor data.

In Nigeria in 1962/63, a new and alarming phenomenon occurred: the political over-count. Since the previous census – in 1953 – had been associated with taxation, a pre-census publicity campaign was launched in

1962. Unfortunately politicians placed so much stress on population providing the basis for legislative representation and for the provision of amenities, that massive and deliberate over-counting occurred in some areas.

The Administrator and the Census Operation:

The headquarters administrator is less concerned with the census than previously, since the planning is now usually the responsibility of his professional counterpart in the statistical office. Yet at the district or local level, the administrator is still of crucial importance as a co-ordinator, as is evidenced by the Census Statistician for Lesotho in 1966 who writes that "it was no comfort to the census planners to discover that on the eve of the census only two of the nine District Commissioners were still in charge of the same districts they were . . . five months earlier. This factor must be largely responsible for the efficiency with which census field work was supervised in some of the administrative districts".[4]

In Lesotho in 1966, a draft of the census schedule was circulated to all ministries and departments of government under a covering minute requesting their comments. This proved somewhat abortive – because of the poor quality of statistics in the past, officials were not statistics-conscious: their suggestions (e.g. measure the fields, locate boreholes) were largely ignored because they were impracticable.

The Census Statistician for Lesotho lists the functions of the district officials in respect of the census[5]:—

District Commissioners, being the most senior government officials in the districts were made responsible for

(a) Recruiting field staff (supervisors, assistant supervisors, and enumerators).

(b) Arranging accommodation for training courses, given by supervisors for enumerators.

(c) Arranging transport.

(d) Receiving, checking and distributing all census equipment to supervisors, and, after the census, returning these items to the census office.

(e) Generally to take charge of all census field operations and to spare no measure which would ensure the success of the census.

In addition, the District Commissioners helped the census planners by distributing census publicity materials, and by contacting chiefs and other local dignitaries. In two important respects, however, the Lesotho census planners had to proceed almost unaided: in up-dating the large-scale maps of Lesotho, and in preparing the Age Calendar (which listed important local historical events so as to help those who couldn't remember their ages).

[4] 1966 *Population Census Report, Bureau of Statistics, Lesotho*, 1966.
[5] *Ibid.*

Vital Registration:

Vital Statistics are prepared from various registers, the most well-known of which are registers of deaths, marriages and births. If the registration system is effective, the numbers of births and deaths, used in conjunction with the most recent census, enable the calculation of birth and death rates, and of up-to-date estimates of the population. With public health administrators placing considerable emphasis on preventive medicine and sanitation, analysis of certain items of registration (causes of mortality, the age of the deceased and his occupation) is increasingly needed. Yet in most developing countries the difficulties and costs of establishing a complete registration system are so enormous that registration is unlikely to provide reliable demographic data within the next few decades.

Nigeria is an example of a country where, although a legal framework exists, registration is fragmentary. The administrators are currently considering how to improve the system of reporting and data processing and how to educate the general public. If a child needs to produce a birth certificate before being admitted to school, a considerable impetus towards registration could be generated.

Kenya has recently achieved fairly complete coverage in one locality where vital registration was linked with land registration. In general, the role of the administrator may be to perceive when registration on a national or provincial scale is feasible, or to discern where registration of sample areas may be begun. With his intimate knowledge of his area, the district officer should be able to advise statisticians about under-reporting by particular classes or ethnic groups.

Population Projections and Policies:

In any Development Plan, a knowledge of population statistics (and especially of census deficiencies which may distort the growth rate) is crucial. Projections of the Gross Domestic Product must be linked with population projections to give *per capita* figures, and also to provide those estimates of non-monetary GDP which are based on numbers of persons. For educational and manpower planning, demographers must forecast the rate of growth and the future age distribution of the population. Statistics showing the drift of young school leavers and foreign immigrants to the cities (in Accra in 1960 one in five persons was foreign born) may be a cause for governmental concern.

With most developing nations now experiencing rapid population growth (as a result of falling mortality), any rise in the standar l of living becomes more difficult to attain. The population may double in as little as twenty years, with a resulting shortage of land, and capital. Increasing awareness of these problems has led to the defining of anti-natalist policies in, for example, Kenya, Ghana, India, Pakistan, and Malaysia. An extract from an official government statement indicates the thinking of Kenya:

"Immediate steps will be taken towards family planning education, because the present high rate of population growth makes extensive and

intensive provision of social services more expensive, the unemployment problem more intractable, and saving for economic development harder than need be – thus lowering the rate of economic growth".

The inception of a national family planning programme, as in Kenya, puts an additional burden on the health administrator since additional medical and paramedical personnel are needed, as well as contraceptive supplies, publicity campaigns, and mobile clinics. The demographer's services are again needed to evaluate the programme: to see how many births have been averted, and by which contraceptive method.

Conclusion:

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion will encourage administrators at all levels to acquire a minimal knowledge of demography; fortunately a variety of paperbacks enable this foundation to be acquired within a few days.[6] The administrator should then be better able:—

(a) to appreciate the value of censuses, demographic surveys, and vital registration;

(b) to be aware of the deficiencies of such data;

(c) to question responsibly the results of demographic investigations; and

(d) to support effectively the work of the demographer.

[6]One of the best is *Population and Society* by Dennis H. Wrong, Random House, 1967.

Land Use Planning in Fiji*

By M. E. ADAMS

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Introduction

About 90 per cent of Fiji's 18,000 square kilometres are contained by the two islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, the major part of which are mountainous. The cultivable land is confined to major river valleys, deltas and coastal flats. In 1968, 150,000 hectares were under arable and tree crops and 37,000 were under enclosed pasture.[1] The most important crops, in descending order of importance, are sugar cane, coconuts, rice, banana, cassava, ndalo (Colocasia esculenta), yanngona (Piper methysticum) cocoa and yams. There were 33,521 agricultural holdings in 1968, 52 per cent were Fijian and 45 per cent were Indian. Table 1 shows the distribution of holding size.

TABLE 1

Size of holding (hectares)	Fijian holders (per cent)	Indian holders (per cent)
0— 2	55	20
3— 4	13	21
5—10	18	43
11—20	9	11
20 and over	5	5

Most of the holders with holdings less than two hectares are Fijian and engaged in shifting agriculture. In such cases the total area of the holding is merely the sum of the areas of the cultivated plots. A primary objective of government agricultural policy in recent years has been to upgrade these Fijian subsistence cultivators to farmers operating within a market economy.

In Fiji, as in other developing countries, the term "land use planning" has become part of the jargon of those involved in agricultural development. This paper attempts to define it, to examine its relationship to agricultural development planning and to outline the problems inherent in the land use planning approach to agricultural development. In the second part of the paper the planned development process is analysed to gain perspective, to overcome inherent assumptions and to discover the place of physical resource surveys in agricultural development planning.

*This paper is an amended version of one which appeared in the *Fiji Agricultural Journal* (Vol. 32, No. 1, 1970) and is published with the permission of the Director of Agriculture, Fiji.

[1]D. J. L. Casley, Report on the Census of Agriculture, 1968. C.P. No. 28/69, Government Printer, Suva, Fiji.

Land Use Planning and the Land Use Planning Approach

Land use planning may be defined as the planned allocation of land resources based on a knowledge of the ecological parameters and the requirements of crops and animals in order to achieve maximum productivity. The land use planning approach emphasises physical and accounting criteria and neglects sociological criteria in agricultural pre-investment planning. It ignores the fact that land, however well endowed physically, will remain undeveloped while negative institutional and social factors stand in the way of change. It also often ignores the fact that government development policy aims to provide the maximum number of employment opportunities, or improve the income of one under-privileged group rather than pursue economic efficiency. For these reasons the execution of land use policies based on physical and accounting criteria is likely to be impracticable. Such policies were more relevant in old style colonial situations where the implementors had more control over land tenure and labour (e.g. the Sudan Gezira irrigation scheme, which combined strict discipline of growers on land compulsorily hired by government).

In Fiji the emphasis on physical aspects in agricultural planning can be traced back to the Burns Commission Report[2] which introduced the concept of a "broad long term land use plan." It stated[3]—

"The preparation of such a plan would be governed to a considerable degree by the ecological regions of the Colony, indeed it would be based mainly on them."

Five years later, the concept was taken further in a report on Land Development Planning. Section III stated that in order to obtain proper use of natural resources, an inventory of land potential (soil and climate) was to be undertaken and that this was to be accompanied by techno-commercial studies. The broad objective, the proper use of resources and the formulation of a long term land use policy to achieve it, cannot be criticised. There was, however, little appreciation of what was going to be involved in finding the key to the formula. Other objectives of the land development programme, besides efficiency of resource use, were overlooked. The settlement of rural families was a fundamental objective.[4] The inherent contradictions of the plan were contained in the report on land development. Section V unwittingly negated Section III by outlining 125 development schemes, involving 160,000 hectares of land (the balance of the colony's undeveloped land at that time) which were to be implemented before 1970; before the surveys required for the formulation of the land use policy were to be implemented.

In 1962, at the beginning of the land development era, there appears to have been very little planning of even the physical aspects. Early schemes cut across the traditional ecological knowledge of the indigenous cultivators. The Department of Agriculture, however, set up a small *ad hoc* land use

[2]Sir Alan Burns, T. W. Watson and A. T. Peacock, *Report of the commission of enquiry into the natural resources and population trends of Fiji*. C.P. No. 1, 1960, p. 47.
[3]Draft contribution on land development planning. Unpublished mimeographed report. Central Planning Office, Fiji, 1965.
[4]*Fiji Development Plan* 1966–70. C.P. No. 11, 1966.

planning unit in order to ensure that land use plans were related to land capability. No detailed soil maps were available to assist in the sub-division of communal lands into viable farms. In addition farmers had to be settled before farm boundaries could be pegged out by registered surveyors.

The system devised to cope with the situation was essentially simple. Similar methods had been developed independently in Africa.[5] The basic concept behind the survey method was that the study of secondary vegetation in relation to soils and climate should provide the most practical single guide to agricultural potentialities in areas of past shifting cultivation. Land classes mapped were often those identified by Fijians as being suitable for different subsistence crops. The concept does not deny the usefulness of soil surveys and field experiments. Indeed the lack of such data in sufficient detail was a severe handicap. The vegetation/soil/landform mapping units were delineated on aerial photographs and maps were produced using simple photogrammetric techniques. These maps provided the basis for subdivision design. Individual farm boundaries were related to topographic features, such as streams and ridges, easily identifiable on the ground by the prospective farmer. He was issued with an approval notice by the lessor pending boundary survey by a registered surveyor. This document acted as a certificate of title, without which credit could not be obtained by the agricultural bank.

Almost ten years after inception of the land development schemes the demand for land use surveys had not been satisfied. Complaints were frequently voiced by Fijian Provincial Councils, Development Commissioners and others interested that the absence of surveys was holding back development, despite the fact that over 3,000 individual farm surveys had been completed and that only 40 per cent of the farms had been developed.

The land use planning approach to agricultural development is evidenced in two ways. First, emphasis has been placed on these ecological surveys, whilst pre-investment surveys of the other supply factors have been very sketchy. Secondly, where development projects have been slow in becoming self supporting, their failure is blamed on the soil or climate. In fact, the success or failure of a development scheme has been determined more often by the presence or absence of roads, markets or vocational skills or by the nature of the institutional framework, than by the presence or absence of an ecological survey at the inception of development. It has been clearly demonstrated that the drawing of farm boundaries in relation to land use capability is only part of the planning process. There has been a tendency to assume that all that was required to establish former subsistence cultivators as farmers operating within the market economy was a series of discrete parcels of cultivable land which could be allocated to cultivators on an individual ownership basis. The existence of agriculturists was presumed. Where unfavourable soil or climate has been blamed for the slowness of development schemes becoming self supporting, close examination reveals a nexus of negative organisational and human factors. Too often the question is posed, "is this a good soil for banana production?" It is more relevant to ask, "Can this soil produce bananas at a profit, bearing in mind all the other

[5]W. Allan, *The African Husbandman*, *Oliver and Boyd*, *London*, 1965.

factors involved?" At low levels of management most soils produce uniformally low yields. As management inputs increase, yields climb, so that a good farmer on moderately infertile land can get better yields than a poor farmer on fertile land. Needless to say, once a certain yield level is obtained marginal costs on the less fertile land will be higher. Benefit from the original ecological surveys will be obtained only when farm management improves.

The Irrelevance of the Land Use Planning Approach in Developing Countries

Land use planning based on physical and ecological criteria is more relevant in developed countries where land use is often related to the desirability of exploiting some soil or climatic advantage and where such things as vocational skills may be taken for granted. The development of highly efficient communications and markets makes the polarisation of different agricultural systems possible; fierce competition makes it necessary.

In underdeveloped economies, agricultural land use in any one place is more likely to be the result of a complex of factors unrelated to the edaphic or climatic requirements of individual crops. For example, the Waidina Valley in south east Viti Levu is ecologically unsuited to banana production relative to other parts of the country. The high humidity and low solar energy reception are favourable to leaf fungus. Hurricanes, to which the banana is particularly susceptible, converge over south east Viti Levu. However, banana culture has more easily grafted on to traditional agricultural practices and land tenure than other forms of agriculture. Again, the location of the ginger industry within a 25-mile radius of the capital is a result of the coincidence of export facilities at Suva wharf, the Chinese market gardening community and recently opened up hill land on the Sawani-Serea road. According to the land use potential maps[6] ginger has no right to be there. Sugar production appears to be the only agricultural activity that has gone through a process of polarisation. At one time cane was grown commercially throughout the alluvial areas of the wet zone. At the time of the closure of the mill at Nausori, it was stated by the C.S.R. company, the sole sugar miller, that little more than half the sunshine required for satisfactory yields was received in the area[7] In this single case an outside commercial interest was able to force the issue and re-locate its activities in a more favourable environment. If the wet zone farmers had had their way, they would still be growing cane, despite their relatively disadvantageous situation. Only after fifteen years has a satisfactory alternative to sugar been introduced, namely double-crop rice under irrigation.

Bearing in mind the foregoing, it is worth asking whether land use planning has any relevance in underdeveloped economies. It is recognised that its definition has been extended to include the study of economic, political and social criteria.[8] But, if the definition is extended to include the gamut of criteria which are drawn together in the weaving of a national development

[6]Twyford, I. T. & Wright, A.C.S., *The Soil Resources of the Fiji Islands, Government Printer, Suva*, 1965.
[7]Ward, R. G., *Land Use and Population in Fiji, H.M.S.O., London*, 1965.
[8]Riney, T., *Criteria for Land Use Planning, E. Afr. agric. for. J., Vol. XXXIII*, 1968.

plan, a land use plan becomes inseparable from a national development plan. As Davis has pointed out, the problem of land use planning is part of the general domain of resource allocation.[9]

Reaction Against the Land Use Planning Approach

Agricultural extension workers in Fiji have become increasingly aware that the most careful planning for the utilization of land resources may not bring about the desired results if no account is taken of the farmer within his social context. Thus a reaction has taken place which is not unrelated to the new political situation. The old school administrators and officials tended to study and analyse the physical resource factors which they could comprehend more easily than the human ones. They tended to regard as irrational those actions of others they could not readily understand.[10] The new generation are increasingly taken up with comprehending these actions. In many cases the new school is better equipped for the task than their expatriate predecessors in that they come from the same social context as the farmers. But, there is a danger that the former situation will be reversed; a "land use planning syndrome" may be replaced by a "new extension philosophy syndrome", and the study of the human resource as a factor of supply may be over-emphasised. At a seminar on rural extension held in Suva in 1968, the proposal was made that planning should start at the village level in order that people's "aspirations and goals might be taken care of".[11] Few would quarrel with the amended proposition adopted by the seminar – "This seminar recognises the need for national plans and suggests that every effort be made to incorporate the needs and aspirations of the people in these plans."

Physical Resource Assessment in Agricultural Development Planning

Clearly land capability surveys, in which knowledge of local agriculture, field experiments, climate and water resources are linked with soils, have an important role in agricultural development planning at all levels, but they are not a panacea for all agricultural problems. In order to gain perspective and overcome the inherent assumptions made in the old land use planning approach, it is worthwhile setting out the disciplines and stages involved in the planned development process. The stages are as follows:

1. Resource assessment – analyses of the potential of the factors of supply and demand.
2. Planning – the determination of the potential of resource combinations and selection of the most promising ones.
3. Implementation of policies.

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[9]Davis, R. K., *The Criteria for Rational Land Use, E. Afr. agric. for. J., Vol. XXXIII*, 1968.

[10]Frankel, S. H. Foreword to *The Niger Agricultural Project* by K. D. S. Baldwin, Blackwell, Oxford, 1957.

[11]Rural Extension Methods Seminar, 1968. Unpublished report. Min. Natural Resources.

It is now generally recognized that the demand for knowledge of physical or ecological parameters can be pushed too far in underdeveloped countries and that the nature, scope and costliness of investigations must be carefully related to particular objectives of the national development plan. Their scope should be kept to the minimum[12]. Therefore, an essential preliminary to the above stages is the detailed formulation of survey plan objectives.

The stages involved in the planning process have been set out schematically below. The order in which phenomena and policies have been listed is arbitrary. In a democratic system a planner needs to take account of political and social criteria first and last, even though the physical resources are the basis for planning.

It is now possible to see the role of a land capability survey in the planning process as one of the tools of assessment in the physical field. It is not an end in itself but part of an overall survey programme involving non-physical phenomena. Further, land capability surveys are subordinate to the actual planning phase in which non-physical factors are also drawn upon in the formulation of a land use policy.

[12]Wilde, J. C. de, *Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa. Vol. I, I.B.R.D. Hopkins, Baltimore.*

TABLE 2

A Schematic Representation of the Development Planning Process[13]

PHENOMENA	STAGE I: ASSESSMENT		STAGE II PLANNING	STAGE III EXECUTION
Minerals	Mineralogical survey			
Power	Power potential survey			
Water	Hydrological survey	Land		Land Use
Soils	Soil survey	Capability		Policy
Climate	Climatological survey	Survey		
Vegetation	Pasture and forest enumeration survey			
			SYNTHESIS OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN	
Agriculture	Agricultural census			
Industry	Industrial survey			Economic
Tourism	Tourism survey			Financial and
Commerce and Transport	Market, distribution and transport survey			Investment
Financial	External aid assessment			Policy
Income and Expenditure	Household budgetary and income survey			
Population	Population census and demographic survey			Social and
Education	Skilled manpower resources survey			Welfare
Land Tenure	Cadastral survey			Policy
Aspirations of the People	Problem Census			

[13]After R. Rawlins, *Farm planning on the basis of land capability surveys*, Proceedings of the Second West Indian Agricultural Economics Conference, U.W.I., Trinidad.

Quarterly Notes

International Union of Local Authorities – 1971 *Congress*

More than 800 participants from countries as far distant as Laos and Jamaica, or Venezuela and Vietnam, from both highly industrialised and less developed societies, attended the 20th World Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities in Toronto, from 18 to 23 July.

The theme of the Congress was local government as the promoter of economic and social development, and an introductory report was circulated in advance, containing papers on Local Government in Regional and National Perspectives (by Dr. A. R. Kuklinski), Social Development and Economic Progress (by Professor Lauchlin Currie) and The Contribution of Local Government (by Professor Henry Maddick). After an inaugural address by Dr. H. J. Vogel, the Mayor of Munich, introductions by Professor Maddick and Dr. Kuklinski, the delegates separated into four working groups for more detailed examination of particular aspects of the topic.

Working group A dealt with local government and the environment, stressing that local government has a primary role to play in overcoming the problem of pollution, though members failed to agree on how local is local government. Group B discussed social development policies, and emphasised the critical role of local government in the success of social development, local government being an important means of involving the citizen in policy making. Group C discussed local government and economic development, including the techniques that local governments could use to promote growth, their sources of revenue, and central-local relations in economic development. The Group realised that the interdependence of functions, financing and problems arising within government is tending to blur the differences between various levels of government. Group D's topic was the financing of development. The importance of treating local government as an equal partner in development, and the contribution which could be made by municipalities themselves if they strengthened their capabilities were points made in their report.

Plenary sessions were devoted to discussion of regional government in Canada; also the use of computers in decision making, which has been part of the management practice of the City of Toronto for several years.

At the end of the Congress a resolution was passed which included the following points:

1. The importance of local government lies in the case of contact at local level between governors and governed, participation of the citizen being of great importance.
2. In a time of urban crisis all over the world, drastic measures are needed to save the world's cities from deterioriorationation under the environmental pressures and increasing pollution.

3. To create a viable structure of local government larger units should be formed where necessary, but effective sub-divisions should be retained for contact with local populations.
4. Efforts should be made to raise the professional level of local administration, by training, the use of modern management techniques, and the development of the idea of a local government career service.
5. Relationships between different levels of government should be made closer and more effective.
6. Local government should be a partner in national development planning, and central government should strengthen local government by all means possible, including financial support.
7. Finally, the IULA should increase its activities as a centre for the exchange of information, in the promotion of international co-operation and in its co-operation with the United Nations.

That this Congress was such a success must be due in large part to the untiring efforts and goodwill of our Canadian hosts, who provided such excellent organization and splendid hospitality.

(*from a special contributor*).

UNITAR – *Commission on the Future*

UNITAR is proposing to establish a "look-out tower" for the United Nations System. The idea is to observe, analyse and report on medium and long-range political, social and economic trends, as well as complex scientific and technological developments which can be expected to have a considerable impact on the international community and that may have to be taken into consideration when devising UN policy-making and action. As a centrally-positioned independent research institute within the United Nations System, UNITAR proposes to fulfil the functions of such a look-out tower by surveying and evaluating "Futures" studies, forecasts and prognostications conducted by a great number of research institutes and organizations in many countries.

The United Nations System is very much in need of some sort of look-out tower for two equally important purposes. One purpose is to be able to give early warning of developments that are only barely perceptible but that may lead to crisis, in order that advance consideration may be given to avoiding or mitigating the effects of such developments. The other purpose is to take cognizance at an early stage of trends of events and germinal ideas that might lead to new perspectives in international co-operation, so that the United Nations System may take advantage of them.

The UNITAR Board of Trustees at its tenth session decided that, as soon as funds permitted, the Institute should undertake a programme which might help promote the objectives of the United Nations Charter through a continuous examination of major world trends and developments with implications for the future of mankind which might require responses from the system of international agencies, including UNITAR. The Board proposed to establish a 36-member Commission on the Future to help in the achievement of this aim.

To give effect to this decision, UNITAR will develop a network of contacts throughout the world composed of institutes and individuals carrying out Futures studies, forecasts and prognoses in their own geographical and disciplinary range and those surveying such programmes. According to a recent survey, there are 170 institutes involved in this type of work, 92 in Europe, 51 in the Western Hemisphere, 7 in Asia and 20 are international institutes.

UNITAR would sift from the material collected what is pertinent to the United Nations System as a whole and what has implications for policy-making or action now. The Institute would then evaluate the ideas and findings from an international viewpoint and synthesize them. This conceptualisation, particularly in terms of United Nations responses and actions, would try to exclude a mass of material and retain only the really relevant. The end result would be a spectrum comprising forecasts and prognostications cutting across emerging problem fields and covering a wide range of possible future developments.

Source – UNITAR News Vol. 3 No. 3.

FAO – *The State of Food and Agriculture*

The progress of the "new seeds" has influenced the food situation and prospects in many developing countries but the effect must not be exaggerated. In India, wheat imports fell from 6.3 million tons in 1967 to 2.8 million tons in 1970. Pakistan's wheat imports dropped from 2.8 million tons in 1967 to 0.6 million in 1970; her rice imports fell from 149,000 tons in 1967 to only 16,000 tons in 1970. The Philippines have imported no rice since 1967.

The impact in trade and the possibility that some other Far Eastern deficit countries may be able to dispense entirely with wheat or rice imports soon, may give a distorted impression of the effects of the new seeds, warns SOFA. The widespread use of the new varieties remains centred mainly in the Far East. "In other developing regions, a promising beginning appears to have been made in a number of countries in the Near East and a still smaller number elsewhere, but with a few exceptions, mainly the United Arab Republic, Kenya and Turkey, there has not yet been any visible impact on overall cereal yields and production. In the rest of the developing world, high yielding variety programmes, if they exist at all, are still at planning or initial testing stages."

NEW ZEALAND – *The Hunn Report on the Maoris*

It is difficult to sum-up in a few words the "central message" of the Hunn Report, but clearly it called for recognition that special assistance to the Maori people was needed if living standards, occupational distribution, educational and health levels of the Maori were to be brought to approximate equality with general non-Maori standards.

Hunn refers to the "legitimate sphere of interest of the Department of Maori Affairs". This covers the practical measures that induce closer integration, i.e. education, employment, housing and health and forms what has subse-

quently been referred to as the "magic circle for progress". "Better education promotes better employment which promotes better housing, which promotes better health and social standing, which promotes better education and thus closes the circle".

The Hunn Report made maximum use of the available data and drew attention to certain salient features which would indicate a continuing need for special consideration of Maori needs and problems. These features included the youthfulness of the population, the high birthrate, the concentration of Maori people in a relatively few geographical areas and the accelerating rural to urban migration.

A brief table setting out some of the more significant characteristics has been prepared. It will be noted that the percentage of Maoris under 21 years is still rising, although the drop in the birthrate may affect this in the next few years. Also, the proportion of Maoris to non-Maoris continues to rise.

TABLE 1

Features of Maori Population, 1961–1967

	1961	1966	1967*
Total Maori Population	167,086	201,159	212,596
Percentage of Maoris to Total Population	6.9	7.5	7.7
Proportion of Maoris to non-Maoris	1:14.5	1:13.3	1:13
Age distribution of Maoris (Percentages):			
Age 0–20	60.3	61.8	62.0
„ 21–59	36.4	35.0	34.8
60 and over	3.3	3.2	3.2

*Estimated

Source: Department of Statistics.

The rural to urban migration recently passed a point of some significance. At the 1966 census 49.9 per cent of the Maori population lived in cities or boroughs and it has been estimated that by the end of 1967 just over 50 per cent were urban dwellers. Thus no longer can we regard Maori problems as mainly rural. Compared with the urban percentages of the total New Zealand population (about 78 per cent), the Maori position still demonstrates a greater rural-based proportion but if the "drift" – which is now almost a "rush" – to the urban areas continues, then even this margin may disappear sooner than has been anticipated. The accelerating movement to the urban areas can be seen from the following short table.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Maori Population Living in Cities and Boroughs

1951	1956	1961	1966
18.7	23.6	33.3	39.9

Source: Department of Statistics.

Source: *New Zealand Journal of Public Administration.*

AFRICA – *Agricultural Development*

Conclusions drawn from analysis and previous experience:

1. Employment opportunities in the rural areas must be multiplied so that these areas can accommodate during the discernible future the major increase occurring in the labour force.

2. Approaches to the rural employment problem must take into account the existence in many areas of both seasonal labour shortages and seasonal labour surpluses. There must accordingly be a co-ordinated effort to alleviate labour bottlenecks, provide fuller employment throughout the season and create additional attractive employment opportunities.

3. Commercial farming in Africa has made considerable progress in recent decades and has not only provided attractive sources of cash income but generated a considerable increase in wage employment. More attention, however, must be paid to the various types of constraints which still prevent many farmers from introducing new crops and adopting new cultivation practices.

4. Practical reforms of rural education are necessary if the tide of migration to the cities is to be arrested. Existing experiments in this field should be evaluated with a view to their improvement where necessary, and every effort should be made to develop new and imaginative approaches.

5. Living conditions in the rural areas must be made more attractive by relieving some of the drudgery of farming through judicious introduction of implements and machinery and by making better provision for rural health, housing and water supply, which can incidentally enhance labour productivity and obviate the need for even more costly investment in infrastructure and services necessary to accommodate rural migrants in the cities.

6. Additional employment opportunities ancillary to agricultural development must be created in the rural areas. While large-scale rural industrialisation is hardly feasible, there are possibilities for the development of undertakings providing services and goods tailored to the needs of growing local markets. In this context the training of rural craftsmen and entrepreneurs and the implementation of measures to help them to establish themselves are particularly important.

7. Special efforts are necessary to cope with the problems of the poorer agricultural regions which have considerable populations to support but which have largely been left out of the mainstream of development. These efforts must proceed from a realisation that lower rates of economic return must be accepted for projects in such regions and that the opportunity costs of production are low in view of the limited alternatives. They will need to focus also on the possibilities of resettlement. In this connection attention will have to be paid to the obstacles to population transfers and to the possibility of progressively attenuating "local sovereignties" over land.

Source: John C. de Wilde writing in the *International Labour Review*.

SENEGAL – *Institute for Economic Development and Planning*

Sweeping changes in training programmes are under way at the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning in Dakar, capital of Senegal. The reforms aim to make the courses more adaptable to regional needs.

Developed with UNDP funds, the institute has trained several hundred civil servants from some 40 African countries since 1964 to help meet the critical shortage of development planners.

1972 will see a research fellowship programme replace the former nine-month course.

The UNDP has provided about $5.7 million to the institute since 1964. An additional $2.61 million has been approved for the new development during the next two years.

The aid helps finance library facilities, the staff costs, faculty fellowships and the supply of equipment. African countries co-operating with the institute contribute funds to meet local operating costs.

The institute was set up under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) to provide an expert training service for African civil servants. So far, more than 200 planners have trained at Dakar and hundreds more have attended regional and national courses in different parts of Africa.

Need for Reform

One impetus for the changes is that the institute's main course has been duplicated at many African national educational institutions. The new programme will emphasize Pan-African aspects of training which cannot be pursued at the national level.

In addition, the institute will organize sub-regional seminars to meet the training needs of countries which have not yet started development studies.

During 1972, four two-month sub-regional seminars will be organized at Kinshasa, Cairo, Dar-es-Salaam and Algiers. These seminars will follow a practical rather than theoretical approach.

Source: *Pre-Investment News.*

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA – *Local Government*

The elections which took place on 3rd April, 1971, for the three Urban Councils at Port Moresby, Lae and Madang were the culmination of some years of research and planning and marked a significant step forward in the extension of the Local Government system within the Territory.

The Proclamations establishing these three Councils, which were approved by the Administrator's Executive Council on the 21st January, 1971, increased the number of proclaimed Local Government Councils to 150 covering some 91 per cent of the Territory's population.

The large number of nominations for candidature in the three centres (137 candidates for 21 seats in Port Moresby, 59/18 in Madang and 58/20 in Lae) indicated a widespread interest among all sectors of the community, although the percentage of voters who exercised their franchise was below what might have been anticipated under the circumstances.

Although only one lady candidate was successful, it was pleasing to note that a number of women did participate.

Source: *The Local Government Bulletin Vol. 2, No. 3.*

BRITAIN – *Local Government Reform*

A massive Bill, with 251 clauses and 30 schedules spread over 351 pages, to reform local government in England and Wales was presented to the House of Commons on 4th November. The background to the Bill is some 25 years of Commissions – Boundary, Local Government, Welsh and Royal – and discussions and consultations galore. Now Parliament has to decide on the precise terms of that reorganization, knowing the great upheaval it will cause. Those who believe in local government as an essential pillar of our democratic society will support action to strengthen local government – that must be the main purpose. Certainly the authorities defined in the Bill – the new counties, the metropolitan districts and the districts in Wales – are stronger than their predecessors, and whilst naturally there will still be arguments about precise boundaries the pattern generally deserves support. The new counties outside the metropolitan areas follow the accepted criteria of town and country in reasonable balance, with one strange exception in Wales and the metropolitan counties, following broadly the method of definition of Greater London, are all large or very large urban units in terms of population and resources.

There is a limited expansion of freedom granted to local government. Whilst aldermen are to remain in London, elsewhere they are all to be dismissed, despite considerable local government support for their retention albeit in fewer numbers.

An initial glimpse of the Bill indicates that, first, the structure and the proposed areas of local government can, subject to detailed points, be commended; second, there is some encouragement in the approach to the freedom and constitution of the new authorities; third, the package of the allocation of functions is generally acceptable, although with some anxiety remaining, particularly in the education field; finally, that part of the Bill which deals with planning appears to be fundamentally unsound and therefore whatever other changes in the Bill may be properly sought and, it is hoped, obtained, above all the allocation of the planning responsibilities needs reconsidering so that Parliament can amend it.

Source: *County Councils Gazette, November*, 1971.

BRITAIN – *Environmental Pollution*

The central problem of pollution, states the report, is to strike a balance between the benefits of the rising standard of living, and its costs in terms of deterioration of the physical environment and the quality of life. It discusses, among other things, the fact that because the costs of pollution are usually not borne by those who cause it, production may be pushed beyond what would be desirable from the social point of view.

The Commission are encouraged by the success of the clean-air policy, but believe that more action and research are needed. Pollution of the land by domestic refuse and industrial waste, particularly toxic materials, presents problems which must be solved; less persistent pesticides must be used, and valuable manure from intensive farming should be returned to the land. However, the Commission are depressed by the state of some rivers, many of which are so polluted that they cannot be used to meet the growing needs for water; pollution of the sea is still substantial and is causing international concern.

Source: Extract of a Summary of the First Report of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution included in *I.U.L.A. Newsletter, June/July*, 1971.

ATHENS – *Ekistics Month*, 1972.

"Human settlements: from the knowledge of the past to action for the future" is the theme for the 1972 Ekistics Month (July 3rd – 20th) organized by the Athens Centre of Ekistics. The programme will conclude with an international seminar on human settlements.

Book Reviews

The Role of Science and Technology in Developing Countries, by GRAHAM JONES with an introduction by Professor Lord BLACKETT; *Oxford University Press for the International Council of Scientific Unions,* 1971; pp. 174; £1.75.

Lord Blackett in his introduction explains that "the object of this book is to explore the ways by which modern science and technology can help to promote economic and social growth in the poor but developing countries." The immediate origin of the book lay in 1966 at the General Assembly of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ISCU) when it was agreed that some activity should be undertaken to encourage the application of scientific knowledge to increase the wellbeing of developing countries. The immediate result was the establishment of a new body – The Committee on Science and Technology in Developing Countries – (COSTED) with members drawn from twelve countries and with Lord Blackett as Chairman. COSTED, realising it had no resources wherewith to compete with the large donors of aid decided that its role must be intellectual and it was agreed that a book with the title of this volume should be produced. Three organizations were involved – ISCU (and especially its committee COSTED), the Royal Society and the Overseas Development Institute. Mr. Graham Jones was appointed to undertake the research and to write the book under the general direction of Professor Blackett. He was well suited for the task as he was initially trained as a chemist and had subsequently many years of experience in scientific and technical administration in a number of less developed countries (l.d.cs.) in three continents.

With all this as the background to this book, it is not surprising that the result is a most valuable document both for the helpers and the helped. So many grievous and in some cases disastrous mistakes have been made in the past by well meaning but ill-informed persons, bodies and governments as to necessitate a book of this kind. It should be read and studied by countries seeking aid who may not know what their needs really are, and by donor governments and other donor bodies so that aid may be offered wisely, by institutions and committees at both the sending and receiving ends and by university and college staffs, especially in institutions in developing countries, lest their demands reflect more their home background and personal interests rather than real local needs.

The book comprises five main sections followed by a Summary and Indexes. These are:—

i. Science and Technology in Economic Development
ii. Science Policy
iii. Agricultural Development
iv. Industrialisation and Research
v. Education and Manpower

The first section includes some statistical comparisons between developed and less developed countries, starting with charts and other figures taken from the Pearson Report of 1969 – *Partners in Development*. Indeed the book may be considered as additional analytical chapters to that Report. As too much aid in the past has been *ad hoc* to specific needs (real or imagined), the section on Scientific policy points to the necessity of drawing up such a policy as a framework within which aid may be accepted if maximum benefit is to result. UNESCO has defined the term Scientific Policy as covering "The sum of the legislative and executive measures taken to increase, organise, and use the national scientific and technological potential with the object of achieving the country's overall development aims and enhancing its position in the world." For the formulation of such a policy it is advocated that a committee would be needed at the highest governmental level headed by or reporting to the Prime Minister or President and providing him with a permanent source of competent technical advice and support. Warning is given of the dangers of out of balance and misapplied research activity which may waste resources rather than increase them.

The section on Agricultural Development was found especially stimulating and comprehensive. Attention is drawn to the fact that the "most common cause of a low rate of economic growth is the absence of a vigorous agricultural policy." On the one hand warning is given on the possibility of increased social inequalities and rural unemployment resulting from premature mechanisation. On the other hand it is noted that research into increasing yield and improving quality can result in dramatic social and economic development. It is suggested that agricultural progress requires stable authoritative institutions staffed by permanent, capable, experienced workers engaged on programmes of work directed to the solution of practical problems.

The remaining two sections are probably the most important for one simple reason among others, namely that they cover areas of the highest priority in the minds of the less developed countries. In regard to industrialisation two most important points are made, the first is that industrial development must move in parallel with agricultural development and the second is that labour intensive schemes rather than capital intensive schemes may be better suited to the local situation. The section deals with many very important issues including marketing, research, development, management, technological innovation, patents, overseas corporations, consultants and so on.

In the final section on education and manpower there is a most welcome reference to the place of technicians. On page 136 it is categorically stated that "For economic growth the real need from the education system is likely to be the production of large numbers of technicians, small numbers of technologists, and a reasonable supply of technologically minded managers and entrepreneurs." There is a similar emphasis on the need for technicians in the previous section and the point is again picked up in the Summary on page 160. This section of course emphasises the place of education generally in economic growth but warns that "education of itself does not create

economic growth." It further warns of the dangers of producing more college graduates than an economy can absorb.

One element of increasing importance which has received scant mention is that of ecology. The word does occur four times according to the index on pages 6, 15, 18 and 64, but the word pollution appears to have no mention. In view of the bitter lessons only just being learned by developed countries, maybe we have a moral responsibility to issue to developing countries the gravest warnings of the possible unhappy by-products of technological and industrial development. The words of Professor Thring given in a recent lecture on pollution at Trondheim are apposite when he spoke of a decreasing quality of life at a time of an increasing standard of living.

ERIC RICHARDSON

Commonwealth Policy in a Global Context, Ed. PAUL STREETEN and HUGH CORBET; *Frank Cass*, 1971; pp. 232; £3.25.

Those of us who were involved in the dying fall of the old Commonwealth Office will remember that there were three conflicting views held by officials working in it. There were the "realists," who argued that the Commonwealth was nothing but a public relations exercise, and that relations between Commonwealth countries were essentially no different from those between any other countries or groups of countries. Then there were the old sentimentalists, who still thought of the Commonwealth in terms of its pre-1947 membership, and clearly resented the idea of black, brown and yellow members. Lastly there were those who saw the Commonwealth as a set of institutions, arrangements and happenings which brought a group of rich and poor countries together for, it was hoped, their mutual benefit. This last group was thought of by its critics as the new sentimentalists.

This book is a collection of essays, originally prepared for a seminar organised in 1969 by Queen Elizabeth House, the Oxford University Institute of Commonwealth Studies and the Trade Policy Research Centre in London. It would be fair to say that most of the authors, although making occasional ritual genuflections in the direction of the Commonwealth, belong essentially to the first – the "realist" – group. A few – in particular, Michael Lipton, Dudley Seers and Paul Streeten – see value in particular or potential Commonwealth arrangements, and would fall into the third group. One paper – that by Lionel Gelber – falls neatly into the second category; black, brown and yellow members of the Commonwealth are seen as nuisances who do not share the broad vision of the white members (among whom he would almost appear to wish to include South Africa).

The main weakness of the collection is that it is essentially western-centred. There is only one contribution by a non-westerner – a stimulating paper by Ali Mazrui comparing the forces making for regionalism in Africa with those in Europe, and linking British interest in the EEC with growing racialism inside Britain. Otherwise there is a tendency to see the centres of policy and action from a western point of view – and this is true even of some of those contributors who are most sympathetic to the needs and interests of the third world. For instance Michael Lipton discusses the decline in the

relative importance of intra-Commonwealth trade without taking into account the possibility that Commonwealth countries have (very naturally) wished to escape from their status as captive markets for British exports. (This is as true of the French and American spheres of influence as of the British; during the past decade countries in Francophone Africa have tended to reduce their relative dependence on imports from France, while countries in Latin America have reduced their relative dependence on imports from the U.S.). Thus the non-white members of the Commonwealth tend to appear as passive in the face of policies and events, and there is little consideration of the policies and options open to them. Again, there are some exceptions, such as the papers by Grant Reuber and Paul Streeten on investment, which examine ways by which capital importing countries can maximise the benefit and minimise the cost of foreign private investment.

Much of the discussion of policy alternatives in the field of trade is now (August, 1971) out-dated by the virtual certainty of British entry into the EEC. But much of the analysis still stands. In particular, there is Paul Streeten's argument that the importance of trade with a particular country cannot be measured by its value; we are more concerned with how much it would cost to forgo that trade. In the case of the exchange between, say, Ford Escorts and Volkswagens, the cost would be quite small, whereas with much intra-Commonwealth trade the cost would be high. Then there are the reservations expressed by Michael Lipton about the treatment of Indian industrial exports if Britain joined the EEC – fears confirmed by the evasive and complacent formulation in paragraph 119 of the White Paper on the United Kingdom and the European Communities.

As the authors rightly emphasise, the Commonwealth will survive only to the extent that its members see it in their interests that it should survive. It is too soon to say whether the British Government's decision to enter the EEC on the terms agreed will convince Commonwealth countries that they no longer have any interest in its survival, or whether they will see some possibility of using Commonwealth arrangements as a means of putting pressure on Britain to support their interests inside the Community. If Britain is willing to accept this role, the decision to join the EEC need not be the end of the Commonwealth.

PERCY SELWYN

Perspectives of Economic Development, by SALVATORE SCHIAVO-CAMPO & HANS W. SINGER. *Houghton Mifflin Company*, 1970. *pp.* 351 *plus ix.*

This book is intended in the words of the authors to be "a text for a one-semester course, or as a supplementary text for a more comprehensive course . . . ideally the result of our efforts should be to make the book useful for undergraduates with minimal familiarity with introductory economics, as well as to advanced undergraduates and to beginning graduate students who should find the treatment of each issue quite enough to chew on" (p. viii). This is a wide spectrum of experience to cover and it is a tribute to the skill and knowledge of the authors that they have achieved their

ambitious objective, and probably more. Indeed what they have written is not just a university text but a book that should be at the elbow of more experienced practitioners of economic growth who are working in the field. Not that it is in any sense an operational handbook, but it encompasses a range of themes that even the most hardened development worker could do well to ponder over in the course of his activities.

The book's coverage is wide: the development problem, theoretical concepts, social factors, human resources, technology, trade and aid. Each theme is analysed with great clarity and an ease that can be accomplished only by authors who have complete mastery of their subject. But the book does have weaknesses. Notwithstanding a disclaimer, it smacks too much of a blue print for development within the framework of national and international planning. As such it suffers from a certain anaemia and lacks those very perspectives that its title leads one to expect. Its diagnosis seems to emanate from a well ordered and cultured common room and somehow the flesh and blood of the environment in which development does, or does not, take place is absent. This is a pity because the authors stress the importance of "people who make up development . . . " (p. 5). Yet these people never quite break surface.

The result is that the book contains some observations that do not always tie in with what one sees on the ground: is economic progress "the result of analysis and human action based on reasoning" (p. 12); can economic progress for the richer countries be "broadly considered as essentially constituted by economic growth within the existing structure" (p. 4); what is meant by the statement that "the *average* child in any given country at any given time tends to be worse off than the *average* adult. Yet, on economic and planning grounds it should be the other way round" (p. 97)?

Further, it would have been invaluable to have had more comments on many of those material and attitudinal factors that are the ingredients of the ordinary business of life: the possession or otherwise of material resources, climatic conditions, location, history, tradition, religious institutions and beliefs.

The authors themselves may not need reminding of these factors; but there are others who do.

TOM SOPER

Unions, Parties, and Political Development – A Study of Mineworkers in Zambia, by ROBERT H. BATES, *Yale University Press, New Haven and London,* 1971, $12.50.

This book analyses the attempts of the Zambian Government to win voluntary support for its development labour policy by making use of two major national structures which penetrate the local level of the African labour force on the Copperbelt. These structures are the Mineworkers' Union and the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the governing party in Zambia.

Dr. Bates shows that the Government formed a fairly satisfactory relationship with the national officers of the Mineworkers' Union, and that these officers accepted the basic premises of government labour policy. But union leaders failed to enlist the support of the mass of the mineworkers for that policy, with the result that workers were less willing to work hard, were more insubordinate and more inclined to resort to strike action than before independence. The reason for this failure was the deep cleavage which existed between union national officers and local branch officials, who were exposed to (and largely shared) the intensely felt grievances and demands of the mineworkers. Moreover, the distribution of power in the union enabled the local branches to determine who should become and remain national leaders, thus reducing the ability of the latter to control the union structure.

Unlike union officers, UNIP national and regional officers, operating within a hierarchical power structure, could control the local party echelons. Drawing upon the (sometimes confusing) language of structural functionalism, the author argues that the party could therefore serve as a two-way channel of communication. Like the union, it fulfilled an input function by receiving messages from the base of the party organisation, and it was structurally equipped (in a way that the union was not) to fulfil an output function by transmitting messages to the rank and file. Dr. Bates therefore concludes that UNIP was "a superior output agency" (p. 209). However, the legitimacy which local party office-holders acquired by championing the workers' cause against the mine management proved counter-productive as far as the implementation of government labour policy was concerned. In a racially stratified mining community, it was inevitable that the party's advocacy of "social justice" for African workers would merely serve to increase the militancy of their demands. While the African miners might appear to Government as privileged workers, in their own eyes they were "poverty stricken" as compared with their white co-workers.

The author argues that the input and output functions of an organisation are complementary, with legitimacy as the intervening factor essential for success. In developing this theme (pp. 208–9), he might usefully have drawn a distinction between legitimacy in the industrial and political spheres. While the legitimacy of UNIP local leaders was higher than that of their union counterparts in the political sphere, it was lower in the industrial sphere – mineworkers were not convinced that UNIP appointees were the best people to represent them in industrial matters, as they showed (for example) in the union elections of 1966. In industrial relations, therefore, UNIP was not a superior output agency to the union. Ultimately, it was the non-receptivity of the mineworker audience which proved the vital factor in the failure of both party and union to secure the workers' acceptance of the Government's labour policy.

It is doubtful whether that policy can be realistically assessed without looking also at the policy and attitudes of the mining companies. Yet Dr. Bates only refers to the latter marginally. This is a surprising omission in a volume which (the postscript apart) deals with the period before "nationalisation" in 1969. It would be interesting to know, for example, what effect the Government's failure to adjust the royalty tax formula had on company

investment and expansion; what the mine management thought of UNIP as an output agency; and what stand the companies took towards specific demands for wage increases, etc. – without such information, it is difficult to measure union "effectiveness" (see, for example, p. 121).

This criticism aside, Dr. Bates has produced an intelligent and valuable study of mineworkers in Zambia. His book will be of enormous help to subsequent research workers who seek, like him, to assess the ability of a trade union to fulfil the productionist role assigned to it by the government of a new state.

WILLIAM TORDOFF

Britain, the EEC and the Third World: Report of an international conference jointly sponsored by the Society for International Development and the Overseas Development Institute at The Royal Society, 26–27th April, 1971; *Overseas Development Institute Ltd., London*, 1971; pp. 79 + Statistical Appendix; £1.00.

All those who participated in this conference would agree that it was one of the most effective and well managed meetings, promoting understanding of what was until then a neglected aspect of the negotiations for British membership of the Common Market and leaving participants on both sides of the fence with a better understanding of the position of the other side. Four papers were before the conference and are reproduced in this volume. The first two were prepared by British authors – one by Mr. Anthony Kershaw, MP, who was then working with Mr. Rippon in the negotiations in his capacity as Parliamentary Under Secretary of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and who naturally takes a generally favourable view of the impact on developing countries; the other, by David Wall of Sussex University, limited to trade issues, takes a critical view. The two other papers were prepared in Brussels by two Secretariat members of the EEC Commission: Gerhard Schiffler (Chief of the Aid Division, EEC) dealing with trade issues, and Charles van der Vaeren (Chief of the Aid Co-ordination Division at EEC) dealing with problems in the field of aid. The papers by the two Brussels officials represent their personal views rather than those of the Commission, but are not of less interest for that reason. The volume further includes a note by Christopher Trapman of the ODI on the effects of the EEC Common Agricultural Policy, and some particularly useful statistical appendices. The opening statement by Lord Campbell of Eskan is also included in its substantive parts.

Above all, however, the volume includes a 13-page report on the conference by Tom Soper, then of the ODI. His report is a model of impartiality in giving fair expression to the critical as well as the favourable views, and yet avoiding the tedious clichés (on the one hand, on the other . . .) that characterize all too many of such "neutral" reports. Altogether this volume is excellent value. It has also been published with commendable speed – and so was available in time for the Party conferences and the "Great Debate" in Parliament in September/October. No participant in the Party

conferences and no MP can be said to have done his homework if he has not read this volume. Beyond that, everybody concerned with the future of the Third World should make it his duty to read this.

It is not easy to pick out individual points in a brief review. Concern about India and Pakistan being left out in the cold clearly rang through the conference and is reflected in Mr. Soper's report. So is a worry about the effect of a trade block between the enlarged EEC and an enlarged group of associates on US trade policy in general and on the US generalized preference scheme in particular. But there are many other matters of interest emerging from this conference.

If the issues that this book deals with are no longer quite as neglected as was stated – perhaps most forcibly by David Wall – it is mainly as a result of the conference and of this report.

H. W. SINGER

Towards "Uhuru" in Tanzania: the politics of participation, by C. ANDREW MAGUIRE; *Cambridge University Press;* maps, bibliography, index; pp. 403; £4.25.

Dr. Maguire has written an interesting and sympathetically told account of Sukumaland politics in the years leading up to the independence of Tanganyika in December, 1961. The title of the book, however, is misleading. Sukumaland was atypical of the rest of the country; there was a significant change in the character and attitude of the administration of the Lake Province in the period under review, and, in the event, the Sukuma, slow to rile (and riled they were, initially by a plethora of well-intentioned but over-extensive agricultural rules and regulations) reacted, and even had it only been a matter of numbers they were a formidable opposition to face. Dr. Maguire gives particular attention to Geita district itself atypical of the other Sukuma districts – it had become *lebensraum* for the Sukuma who moved in to expand their cotton production and soon to outnumber the original non-Sukuma inhabitants.

"Crisp, direct, authoritarian officials . . . were more the rule than the exception" is probably a fair comment on the administrative personnel in the Lake Province in much of the Nineteen Fifties, but very far from the situation in other Provinces or in the Secretariat. Some of those serving in the Lake Province would not have been welcome, nor found districts of substance, had they moved elsewhere. Indeed had Sukumaland's administration in the Fifties been typical of Tanganyika as a whole, Tanganyika would not have proceeded quickly and peacefully to independence. It was, for example, Provincial Commissioners meeting in Tabora in 1959 who successfully urged Governor Turnbull to insist on an additional African minister at full internal self-government stage, and thereby avoiding probable TANU non-co-operation.

Dr. Maguire at times uses rather extravagant language – the "Geita uprising" conjures up skirmishes and battles, shooting and killing: major unrest in Geita led to riot not uprising. He gushes over the remarkable

Victoria Federation – to a great extent the achievement of the Bomani family – high praise is well deserved, but its over-enthusiastic expansion and imperfect control has since led to radical reform by the Tanzania Government; even in the Sixties the precipitate introduction of new-method ginneries over which expert agricultural advice had counselled caution, almost brought disaster: the success story of the Coffee Co-operatives on Kilimanjaro (KNCU) was no less noteworthy – indeed the co-operative department provided a major stimulus to African economic development prior to independence. Dr. Maguire is rather naive in his judgment of men both African and European, and of events; nonetheless he learnt fairly well who were in sympathy with the wind of change and who were not, among the senior officials who came under his scrutiny.

Like many academics who readily and often rightly criticise their own politicians, he blithely implies that those involved in the struggle for independence in a dependency were paragons of virtue. This of course is nonsense, Tanzania before independence had few educated political leaders; with central and local government servants (unwisely to the reviewer's mind) banned from politics, Voluntary Agency teachers discouraged therefrom, TANU often had to depend at district and village level on a very mixed bag of founder members. Many were self-seekers after power. Inevitably in Tanganyika as, alas, in so many other parts of the world (and not so long ago in Western Europe too) a great deal of intimidation was in evidence particularly at election time. Since independence President Nyerere has weeded out a lot of political chaff. Indeed, more than anything else, that Tanzania, economically the poorest of the East African states, should have entered independence first, achieved real social and economic progress and set its own pattern of self-reliance, is due to the personal leadership of a President who believes in the Rule of Law, who has shown that democracy can have meaning in a one-party state, and who has a philosopher's distaste for the worldly accoutrements of power.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

Development and Change in Basudha – A West Bengal Village, by AJIT K. and DIPALI G. DANDA; maps, bibliography and glossary; pp. 132; Rs. 13.

Small Farmers: State Policy and Programme Implementation, by U. R. GAIKWAD; tables and appendices; pp. 83; Rs. 10.

Farmers and their Aspirations, by B. C. MUTHAYYA; tables and appendices; pp. 113; Rs. 13.

These three volumes were all published in 1971 by the *National Institute of Community Development*, Hyderabad, under the general editorship of U. R. K. Paramahamsa.

The Dandas examine the causes for villager rejection of modern agricultural practices. Some very good reasons were provided for non-compliance in respect of green manuring, masonry compost pits (why on earth masonry? As a villager commented "how can we afford a masonry compost pit when there is no masonry house for ourselves to live in?"). New poultry varieties prove to have less resistance to disease: clearly there are innovators who need to go back to school and/or local experimental farm to establish what is practicable and what will succeed before the livelihood of conservative peasant farmers is placed at hazard. It will usually be found that adequate *proven* incentives *will* work.

U. R. Gaikwad examines the Maharashtra Integrated Area Development scheme for small farmers. A plan to improve the lot of the labouring and small farmer classes – to remove the disparity between them and the big landowners. Inevitably a large gap appeared between plans and performances: funds allocated remained unspent, apathy abounded, only goats and no cattle for landless labourers; few wells completed. The author sees the remedy in the urgent administrative reform of the agency responsible for the scheme.

B. C. Muthayya examines the "socio-economic status and work-orientation" of peasant farmers. This is a rather modest volume ending with some rather woolly generalisations and does not match up to the first two books – in particular that by the Dandas which provides food for thought by agricultural planners, sociologists and extension workers in the field, wherever the need to put across new agricultural techniques is vital to the development of backward rural areas.

Nagarlock – Reforms in Municipal Government – *Municipal Affairs. Quarterly, The Indian Institute of Public Administration Special issue* Rs. 5.

Professor G. Mukharji draws attention in his editorial to the fact that "nowhere perhaps is the need for reforms more acutely felt than in the sphere of municipal government (in India) which has remained virtually static since the days of Lord Rippon . . . over the years planning and economic development have unleashed new forces of urban growth under the impact of which municipal administration in most cases is in disarray."

This special volume contains nine papers in each of which the author concerned offers constructive proposals for municipal reform, covering management, personnel systems, staff control, state supervision, procedural reform, general reorganization and the case for an Ombudsman.

If the State Governments harken to only a modest proportion of the proposals contained in this issue, Indian Municipal Government could be markedly improved.

Family Planning – knowledge, attitude and practice, by S. BALAKRISHNA, *National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad,* 1971; appendices and tables; pp. 139; rupees 14.

This volume provides the report of a research study conducted in four rural areas of Andhra Pradesh as part of the major family planning programme being carried out by the Government of India.

Opposition to family planning was found to be quite considerable, amounting to nearly 40 per cent of the sample studied: practice of family planning methods remains slight; fears as to the after-effects of surgical measures is a retarding factor.

The many facts and figures collated by the author should prove both interesting and useful to others working in this field in the Indian sub-continent.

Style in Administration – Readings in Public Administration, Ed. RICHARD A. CHAPMAN and A. DUNSIRE; *George Allen and Unwin;* 1971 *for the Royal Institute of Public Administration*; index; pp. 496; £4.95.

This anthology provides a suitable bedside book for lecturer or student whose academic interest lies in Public Administration. How far the transatlantic custom of providing selected "readings" in book form is really a good thing from the viewpoint of scholarship or academically-speaking is a very moot point. It often makes for a hotchpotch of undigested potted history. Learning by snippets provides no learning in depth.

Nonetheless this volume does contain in its 33 extracts an interesting collection of thoughts and sayings on many of the varied facets of public administration – from a distinguished miscellany of administrators, acedemics and others, covering the period 1918 to 1970 – from Haldane to Armstrong.

New Guinea Research Bulletin, Number 37 – Port Moresby Urban Development; *The New Guinea Research Unit: the Australian National University, Canberra;* appendix, bibliography, figures, tables, index; pp. 98; A$1.50.

This special number contains two papers specially prepared for the consultants engaged in 1969 to submit a development plan for Port Moresby, the capital of Papua – New Guinea.

The first paper by J. V. Langmore sets out to forecast the population and work-force trends for 1980 and 1990. A very rapid population increase is envisaged, with a work force rising to over 50,000 by 1980 and then more than doubling itself in the following decade, non-indigenous workers rising a mere 375. With this indication of likely numbers, the consequential housing needs will clearly provide the self-governing state (some form of independent status is expected between 1976–80) with a major problem involving a heavy call on financial resources, detailed physical planning, delicate adjustments to a long standing system of land tenure, that will stretch to the utmost the administrative capacity of the public service.

The second paper by N. D. Oram sets out the position of indigenous housing in Port Moresby and provides a forecast of likely future needs.

Constitutional and Administrative Law, by H. W. CLARKE; *Sweet and Maxwell,* 1971; appendix, index; pp. 206; £1.25.

H. W. Clarke has written a useful and up-to-date textbook on constitutional and administrative law. In a field where the law changes rapidly it is of marked advantage to student and general reader alike that in September, 1971 a law book can be produced including material relating to May of the same year.

Modern African Contract Cases, Ed. ALAN MILNER assisted by SUSAN ABRAHAMS; *The African Law Reports, Oxford; Oceana Publications, New York,* 1971; index pp. 490; $17.50.

The African Law Reports series is a model of its kind. In this volume of contract cases covering some seventeen countries, Dr. Milner's very special expertise in this field results in a pattern of presentation that is clear and concise – publishers and printers alike also merit praise.

Bar and bench in Common Law Africa should give this publication a warm welcome. It is likely to find a place on the bookshelves and law libraries of those who seek up-to-date precedents in contract law – and it is worth emphasising that the cases Dr. Milner cites are all reported from the mainly post-independence era of the Nineteen-Sixties.

Towards Economic Independence – papers on the Nationalization of the Copper Industry in Zambia, by M. C. O. FABER and J. G. POTTER, *Cambridge University Press;* pp. 134; £1.20.

As Mike Faber puts it in his preface the papers in this small (and rather expensive) paperback provide "evidence which may serve as material for future scholarship" – their value lies in the personal involvement of the authors during the 1963–70 period. A lively commentary in a lively series of papers on a lively period of Zambian history makes for interesting reading about contemporary events in one of Africa's most important major industries.

Most dependent territories in Africa reached independence with modest financial reserves as the post-war boom in primary products declined. Ghana was in time to benefit from Cocoa-derived reserves, Zambia two decades later, from the great resources of the copperbelt – first by the assumption of the mineral rights claimed by the British South Africa Company and then, after UDI next door, for one thing, had caused the reserves to shrink, the purchase of the futures in the 51 per cent nationalization to be paid for from dividends to come.

The Irish Judiciary, by PAUL C. BARTHOLOMEW; *The Institute of Public Administration, Dublin;* appendices, bibliography, index; pp. 86; £1.50.

The author provides a clear and readable picture of the judicial system in Ireland. He covers the structure of the Courts, their jurisdiction and basic procedure, the personnel on the bench (what is an Irish Judge? is how this section starts), with detailed tables setting out the curricula vitae of judicial office holders, and finally Irish law.

A great burden of work clearly falls on the President and 35 Justices of the unified district court whose members, sitting separately, heard over 375,000 cases in 1970 – a year in which the Supreme Court disposed of 84 cases, had 16 standing for judgment and 124 "remaining on the docket".

The author is least explicit about the circuit court but he makes clear when discussing the judges how little the structure offers by way of career prospects.

The Attorney General has "first right of refusal" to a vacancy occurring at High or Supreme Court level. Appointments to judgeships are a matter for cabinet decision. They are regarded as the highest political patronage within the Republic. With Fianna Fail in power for so long, a tendency to appoint younger judges has grown up than would have occurred had "the other side" been in the position more often of dealing with its own backlog.

The author consulted nearly all the judicial office holders and the majority view was that most of their appointments had been based on partisan political considerations.

District judges are mostly solicitors and thereby debarred from promotion to the circuit court while Circuit Judges are not considered to be of High Court calibre.

The author considers the non-career structure of the Judiciary beneficial, curbing ambition and encouraging job satisfaction no doubt. The Premier's strong position over all judicial appointments and the powerful role of the cabinet has one check – that of public opinion.

Paul Bartholomew has no doubt that in Eire judicial appointment "is in a very real sense the finest and the most desirable appointment that the government can make. It is a status appointment" . . . the apogee of political patronage.

The Medical School of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland – a Cost-Benefit Study, by CHARLES MULVEY; *Institute of Public Administration, Dublin,* 1971; with tables and appendices; pp. 59; 75p.

Charles Mulvey, an economist, with experience in labour economics, here examines an Irish Medical School, on the basis of a cost-benefit analysis. His main conclusions start with what seems to be a statement of the obvious "If the medical school of the RCSI had ceased to exist in 1969, the capacity of the system of medical education in Ireland would have been reduced by an amount equal to the capacity of the medical school of the RCSI in that year". One is glad to find the author calculates a social rate of return from the medical school as lying between 45 per cent and 52 per cent (based on a notional capital value of £500,000) and he continues "since capital employed has been fully costed before arriving at the social rate of return, this result means that the medical school of the RCSI contributes substantially more to the community in social products than it costs the community in terms of real resources employed". The author considers the social rate of return as "depressed by the very high value of the site and buildings which accommodate the medical school; assuming the same activities could be carried on in lower value accommodation away from the city centre the social rate of return would rise accordingly".

One can see this sort of argument leading to some strange conclusions! However as the conclusions here are favourably drawn the RCSI can no doubt feel satisfied that they have passed with credit an unusual econo-medical examination.

The World Development Plan – a Swedish Perspective, by ERNST MICHANEK; *The Doug Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala,* 1971;

Ernst Michanek sees the Swedes commitment to developing countries as characterized by broad aims covering the following seven facets:

1. the awakening of public opinion to an awareness of the emerging global society,
2. giving domestic decision-makers a more active role in international policy-making (in respect of multi-lateral aid),
3. putting the people of a developing country in the centre of development co-operation programmes (following their needs and wishes, using their local expertise, etc.),
4. supporting UN agencies and "putting over" the role of the World Bank as an agency for development,
5. concentrating aid resources in a few key fields, e.g. the problems of population growth and birth control,
6. undertaking research in such fields as contraceptive technology, environmental protection, the utilization of natural resources, etc.
7. finding ways to utilise the services of young people, national corporations and the private sector so as to achieve the mobilization of the talents of those with good will ready to assist towards developing countries.

Geography and a Crowding World, Ed. WILBUR ZELNSKY, LESZEK A. KOSINSKI and R. MANSELL PROTHERO; *Oxford University Press;* glossary and index; pp. 601; £4.00.

Welcome, albeit a tardy arrival, is this report of a symposium held four years ago in America and attended, mainly by geographers with a quota of demographers, in all some 33 academics from 11 countries.

Geographers looked with grim concern at PPR – Population pressure on Resources, but they were unable to provide a summary that hammered out clear and loud the diagnosis made or the therapy recommended. It is a pity that piously worded generalization should prove the anti-climax to a number of admirable specialist papers from the pens of a very distinguished panel of international geographers.

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